JAMES I. OF SCOTLAND

From Pinkerton's Iconographies

THE KINGIS QUAIR

AND

THE QUARE OF JELUSY

EDITED, WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, APPENDIX AND GLOSSARY,

BY

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PREFACE

The aim of this book is twofold—to give the texts of the several poems as the manuscripts present them and as criticism would amend them, and to assign to them their place in the development of English and Scottish poetry.

Interest centres in the *Kingis Quair*, and the chief points for discussion are raised by its character and history. Professor Skeat's edition of the poem and Professor Schick's edition of Lydgate's *Temple of Glas*, followed as they were after the lapse of a few years by Mr. J. T. T. Brown's challenge of the authenticity of the *Quair*, created a fresh interest in medieval Scottish poetry, and subsequent controversy by M. Jusserand and others has helped to make clear some things in Scottish history and literature which were before obscure and imperfectly apprehended.

To Professor Skeat, Mr. Brown, and those who followed him, I am of necessity indebted, and this indebtedness is acknowledged in the Introduction and Notes. If at any point this has not been expressed, it is by inadvertence. On details of interpretation and on some points of textual criticism I have found Walther Wischmann's *Untersuchungen über das Kingis Quair Jakobs I von Schottland* very helpful, and always acute.*

The *Quare of Jelusy*, as will be evident from the Introduction, has a closer connection with the other *Quair* than accidental proximity in a unique MS. There has been but one previous edition, in 1836. Reprinting it, in a correct text, may therefore not be regarded as a literary crime.

I have to express my thanks to Professor Skeat for his courtesy in allowing me to note his actual and suggested emendations of

* Wischmann, who was latterly University Librarian at Kiel, died in 1905 at the early age of forty-five. His death was a distinct loss to Middle English and Scottish scholarship.

the text, to Mr. Maitland Anderson, University Librarian, St. Andrews, and to other authorities on script mentioned in Appendix C, for deliberate expression of opinion on the handwriting of the scribes of the manuscript, and to my friends, the Rev. William Bayne, of the St. Andrews Provincial Committee's Training College, and George Soutar, Esq., D.Litt., University College, Dundee, for their great kindness in reading the proofs of the book.

Last, but not least, I have to thank Principal Sir James Donaldson and the other members of St. Andrews University Court for their good-will in placing the book among our University Publications.

ST. ANDREWS,
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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN NOTES TO TEXT.

S. Reading given or suggested by Rev. Professor W. W. Skeat, LL.D., in his edition of *Kingis Quair*, 1884.

W. Reading suggested by Herr Walther Wischmann, Ph.D., in his *Untersuchungen*.

W.W. Reading adopted from above.

E.T. Mr. George Eyre-Todd.

Alternative conjectural readings are printed between brackets, thus: ( ).

INTRODUCTION

I

LIFE OF KING JAMES I

I

UNTIL HIS CAPTURE

King James I., like his ill-fated descendant Charles I., was born at Dunfermline, probably in the earlier half of July,[1] 1394. Wyntoun[2] gives the year, and, although he is not always accurate, the date is confirmed by inferences from statements as to the Prince's age at later periods, notably at the time of his capture by the English. The place and the month of his birth are attested by an interesting letter from his mother, Queen Annabella, to Richard II. of England.[3] "To (the) very high and mighty Prince R(ichard), by the grace of God, King of England, our very dear Cousin, A(nnabella), by the same grace Queen of Scotland, health and love. For your gracious letters presented to us by our well-beloved Douglas Herald-at-Arms we thank you wholly and from the heart: by them we have learned your good estate and health to our great pleasure and comfort. And, very dear Cousin, as to a treaty to be made touching the marriage between those near to you in blood and some of the children of the King, our Lord, and of us, be pleased to know now that it is agreeable to the King, my said Lord, and to us, as he has signified to you by his letters, and, in especial, in so far as the said treaty will not be able to hold from the third day of July by-past, for fixed and reasonable causes contained in your letters sent to the King, my Lord aforesaid, you have agreed that another day for the same treaty be taken, the first day of October next to come, which is agreeable to the King, my Sire aforesaid, and to us; and we thank you with all our will and heart; and we pray earnestly

that you be willing to continue the said treaty, and to cause to be held the said day. For it is the will of the King, my Sire above-said, and of us, as far as in us is, that the said day be held without default. And, very dear Cousin, we ask you and pray you earnestly that it displease not your Highness that we have not sooner written to you. For you are to think of us as lying ill owing to the birth of a male child by name James. And we have been well and graciously delivered by the grace of God and of our Lady. And also because the King my said Lord, at the coming of your letters, was far distant in the isles of his kingdom, we did not receive his letters sent to us on this matter until the last day of July last by-past. Very high and mighty Prince, may the Holy Spirit guard you all your days. Given under our seal at the Abbey of Dunfermline the first day of August."

Robert III. and Annabella had been crowned King and Queen in 1390 after the death of Robert II. at Dundonald on April 19 of that year.[4] James was their third son. A second son, Robert, had died in infancy,[5] and their eldest son David, afterwards Duke of Rothesay, was at the birth of James nearly sixteen.[6] King Robert, who had been injured in youth by a kick from a horse,[7] was an amiable and conciliatory man who loved the quiet and mild climate of Bute and the Western Isles, and he left the task of practical government to his masterful younger brother the Earl of Fife,[8] who in 1389 had been appointed Regent and Governor of the kingdom by his father and the estates. Queen Annabella's letter shows that her lord was a sovereign more anxious to consider his consort's feelings than to direct the policy of the realm.

As the whole after-life of James was coloured and modified by the public situation thus created in his childhood through the co-existence of a kind but weak father, a clever affectionate mother, a strong-willed uncle, and an elder brother growing to manhood, and, as the estimate of his character depends not a little upon the view we are compelled to take of his uncle, some attention must be paid to the history of the Scottish royal family during his early boyhood.

The mild father, like Isaac, has often a stirring son like Esau. Such was David, Earl of Carrick, who early played a part in public life. One of his first public acts, in all probability, was his

arrangement of the Battle of the Clans, "which took place in the King's presence upon the Inch of Perth, not as stated by Sir Walter Scott upon Easter Sunday, but upon September 28, 1396."[9] His importance as the heir-apparent was recognised by his advancement to the title of Duke of Rothesay, on April 28, 1398, when his uncle the Earl of Fife was created Duke of Albany, the title of Duke being then for the first time introduced into Scotland.[10] Nine months afterwards—January 27, 1399—the prince was by his father appointed Regent for three years, and a Council was selected to assist him in the work of government.[11] In all probability the Queen's hand was more active than the King's in this promotion of the Prince and supplanting of Albany. How the Prince bore himself cannot with any certainty be gathered from the tangled tale of his misfortunes in love, of his love of literature, and of his eagerness for public business in spite of a severely limited allowance from the public purse.[12] Collision with the masterful uncle whose post he now filled was inevitable, and equally inevitable in the Scotland of that time was the painting of the Prince's character to please the ruling power. It suited Albany to have him believed to be weak and worthless, that exaggerations and misrepresentations might help the plot against his rule. There were the usual complications with England, and these were followed by an invasion of Scotland in August, 1400.[13] Unfortunately for the Duke of Rothesay, Queen Annabella died in the autumn of the same year,[14] and there was no longer any effective head to the anti-Albany party. The greatest ecclesiastical post in the kingdom was vacant and was being bitterly wrangled about, and the vacancy seems to have suggested a very ominous kind of wrong-doing to the Prince. He seized the temporalities of the see of St. Andrews, and this act must have alienated churchmen, who were invariably well disposed to the sovereign. It certainly took the Prince to a region where Albany had great possessions and corresponding power. Albany imprisoned his nephew in the castle of St. Andrews,[15] whence, on March 25, 1402, the day being the day before Easter, he had him transferred to his own castle of Falkland. On Monday, March 27, the Prince was found dead, and it was widely believed that he had been murdered at the instigation of the uncle in whose house he died.[16] (Such an

opportune death from natural causes is unusual.) Albany again became the real ruler of the kingdom. It was probably as easy a matter to get parliamentary proclamation of his innocence, and of the innocence of the Earl of Douglas appropriately associated with him, on May 16, 1402,[17] as it was for the Earl of Bothwell to get a verdict of "Not Guilty" from a council of his peers in April, 1567. The Duke of Rothesay may have been, like his kinsman Darnley, a young fool and rake, but the proof is scarcely adequate save on one point. He was betrothed to the daughter of the Earl of March, and within a year he married a daughter of the Earl of Douglas.[18] He was certainly in the way of the person who again became Governor of Scotland after his death.

It is necessary to bear this tragedy in mind if we are to comprehend the policy of Albany in itself, and in its effect upon the temper and character of James I., who thus, as a child of seven, became heir-apparent to the crown of Scotland. Its immediate effect was to increase the vigilance of the King. James was sent to the castle of St. Andrews[19] and placed in the keeping of Henry Wardlaw who had been Bishop there since the year of Rothesay's death. Here, some time before January 18, 1404,[20] James received a companion of his own age in the person of the young Percy, son of Hotspur. (Percy was born on February 3, 1394.)[21] And although it is fiction and not history that together they trod the road of letters at the now venerable but then newly established University of St. Andrews,[22] it is not improbable that the sight of the two boys at their books in his sea-beat palace helped to suggest to the good Bishop the foundation of a university in the ecclesiastical capital.* But the thought only became fact on February 27, 1412, when Bishop Wardlaw granted the charter which instituted the first Scottish university.[23] Of the boyish pleasures and studies of James there is no record.

Late in 1405, or early in 1406, King Robert and his confidential advisers decided to send the young prince to France to complete

* St. Andrews was already a favourite place of education and had schools, although the university was not in existence. In 1383 and 1384 payments were made for the expenses of James Stewart, an illegitimate son of Robert II., who was under the care of the Bishop of St. Andrews, and for Gilbert de Haia, son of Thomas de Haia, while at the schools of St. Andrews. (Grant, *History of the Burgh Schools of Scotland*, p. 13.)

his education, and to be out of the reach of his energetic and not over-scrupulous uncle.[24] The project seems to have been veiled or obscured in some way, possibly to deceive Albany and his partisans in Scotland. At least, this is a natural inference from a remarkably confused passage in Wavrin[25] which records the presence of James at the siege of Melun. "This King of Scotland, of whom at present we make mention, was prisoner of King Henry, and the manner of his capture I will tell you as I have been informed by two noble knights, natives of the kingdom of England, who told me that King David (sic) of Scotland had a son named James who greatly desired to make the holy pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He was counselled, in order securely to accomplish this desire, that he had need of a safe-conduct from King Henry, which he obtained for himself and twenty gentlemen; then he made his preparations and took leave of the king, his father. So he came into England, where he was honourably entertained and grandly received by the Duke of Gloucester (Clocestre), brother of the king, and by other great lords, ladies, and maidens. Now, while he was still sojourning there, he received news of a grievous illness which had seized the king, his father, and of which he died. Therefore he greatly grieved when he knew the truth by the princes and great lords of the kingdom of Scotland, who announced it to him as to the only son and heir to the crown, indicating to him that he should come to take possession of his lands and lordships. The Duke of Gloucester, on being informed of the death of the King of Scotland, let King Henry his brother know at once, and he enjoined him to detain the said James in taking his pledge and bringing him before the city of Melun where he was, saying that he had not given safe-conduct to the King of Scotland, but to the son of the King of Scotland, who was henceforth King of Scotland by the death of King David his father. Finally he remained a prisoner and was brought to France to the presence of King Henry before Melun." There is here a plentiful crop of blunders. David is put for Robert, and Robert's death is made sixteen years later than the event. Yet there may be some substratum of truth in the mention of a desire on the part of James to go on pilgrimage to the Holy Land. No Scottish writer, however, speaks of a request for, or of the granting of a safe-

conduct, and Wyntoun, who makes much of English bad faith in the capture of James, must have known if such dishonourable practice there had been.[26]

Whatever the motive of the journey, preparations for sending James to France began early in 1406. The manner of his sailing implies a fear of capture and a manifest desire to keep arrangements from the knowledge of enemies at home and abroad. *The Kingis Quair*, stanza XX., gives the time of departure: it was shortly after the vernal equinox, but the poem sheds no light upon motive, or special preparations or precautions:

> Were it causit throu heuinly influence
> Off goddis will, or other casualtee,
> Can I noght say.
>
> (Stanza XXII.)

James is simply described as a child about three years past the state of innocence, who was sent out of the country by the advice of those in whose care he was:

> Bot out of my contree
> By thaire avise that had of me the cure
> Be see to pass tuke I myn auenture.
>
> (Stanza XXII.)

The Scottish historian who gives the clearest account is Bellenden:[27] "Thus was it concludit be the king to send his son other in France or England quhair he (myght) eschew al treason devisit agains him. Sone efter ane schip wes providit with al necessaris, and tendir supplicationis direckit baith to the king of France and Ingland to ressaive him undir thair targe, protection, and benevolence, gife it happinit him to arrive within any of thair realmes. Hary Lord Sinclair, the secund Earl of Orkney, was chosin to this besiness, and pullit up sales at the Bass, hauand the said James and the young Perse with many othir nobles and gentlemen of Scotland in his company. This James, richt wery be uncouth air and corruption of seis, desirit to refresch him on the land, and was soon takin with all his company be that maner. Otheris writes that he was takin at Flamburghead apon the seis, be Inglishmen quhilkis war advertist be treason of certain Scottis of his passage to France. Truth is he was takin the ix[28] ȝer of his age, the xxx day of Marche, fra our redemption mcccciv[29] ȝeris and was haddin in captivite be Inglishmen xviii ȝeris."[30]

Again *The Kingis Quair* is tantalisingly general in its account. The voyagers were well provided for, they sailed in the morning, they made "many goodby," they "pullit up saile," they tossed about on the waves, and they were forcibly captured by enemies and brought into their country.[31] The poet says nothing about truce-breaking, and as a matter of fact, on March 30, 1406, there was no truce between Scotland and England. How James and his company had only reached Flamborough Head on March 30 is a mystery, if they set sail near the vernal equinox, as the poet says. Indeed, contrary to the poetic statement in the *Quair*, they had probably sailed from the Bass early in February, as Sir David Fleming of Cumbernauld who had seen the prince embark was killed on his way home on February 14, 1406.[32]

The departure of James from Scotland and the manner of his capture are also clearly set down by Walsingham,[33] who gives the correct date 1406. He first mentions the murder of Fleming of Cumbernauld, and then says that the Scots were provoked to civil war and forced to sue for a truce for a year: "treugas annales petere coguntur. Quibus formatis in terra Scoti misere per aequora filium Regis sui et heredem ut coalesceret et informaretur in Francia de facetia linguaque Gallica. Quem quidam nautae de Cley in Norfolchia cepere fortuito et quemdam Episcopum comitemque de Orkenay, quibus commissus fuerat a patre suo, et ad Angliam deduxerunt Regique dederunt. Rex, vero, resolutus in jocos, dixit: 'Certe, si grati fuissent Scoti hunc misissent mihi juvenem instituendum, nam et idioma Franciae ego novi.' Missique sunt ad Turrim Londiniarum dictus juvenis et Comes Orkadum, Episcopo per fugam lapso." Walsingham evidently knew nothing of the prince's distaste of the sea and wish to land, and nothing of the tale that he was compelled to land by stress of weather: "cassin be tempest of wedder as he was passing to France."[34] According to Bower[35] James on being captured was taken first of all to the Castle of Penvai. Bellenden,[36] like his original, gives the substance of a letter addressed to Henry IV. which the young prince carried, but this letter in all probability is not a historical document, though Tytler accepts the tenor of it as genuine.[37]

In the midst of this confusion and contradiction one fact and one date are clear and indisputable. Robert III. died at Rothesay

on April 4, 1406, the day being the feast of S. Ambrose and Palm Sunday.[38] His death is invariably associated with the tidings of his son's capture. It is also possible that consciousness of the near approach of death had impelled the King to send his heir to a place of safety. A boy of eleven was in danger sufficient between Albany and the Douglases. If James were captured on March 30, his father in the island of Bute could scarcely have had news of his misfortune on April 4. Dunbar,[39] accepting Wyntoun's statement that the capture was on Palm Sunday, makes the capture of the prince and the death of King Robert fall on the same day. In June, 1406, a Council General of the Estates at Perth recognised the young King's title, and appointed Albany Governor of the kingdom.[40]

In these events and the consequent confirmation of the rule of Albany, coinciding, as they do, with the reign of Henry IV. in England, we have a curious parallel to the situation which was to emerge in 1568 when Queen Mary was made prisoner by Elizabeth. We have an English sovereign with a doubtful title, a divided people, and an emphatically hostile Northumbria ; and we have a Scottish government which is avowedly temporary, while the legitimate Scottish monarch is in the power of the English ruler, who is thus able to control the northern kingdom, because the rightful governor might at any moment be released, if the *de facto* ruler should prove too troublesome to his southern neighbour. James had two circumstances favourable to him which did not exist in the reign of his illustrious descendant. The Catholic Church in Scotland was then undivided, and Churchmen were eminently loyal, while the French government fully recognised and valued the alliance with Scotland. Yet in spite of these favouring influences James remained almost as long in English keeping as Queen Mary, though his release from captivity came in a fashion more creditable to his captors.

II

IN CAPTIVITY

The first English rererence to James as a captive is on August 14, 1406 :[1] Richard Spice, Lieutenant of Sir Thomas Rempton, Constable of the Tower of London, is noted as

receiving £44 7s. 10d. "for the expenses of the household of the King of Scotland and other prisoners in his keeping." On December 10 of the same year,[2] Spice receives "in part of £59 13s. 4d. for the expense of the King of Scotland's son, John Toures (? Forrest), William Seton, John Giffard, and Sir Donkerton, chaplain, under his ward in the Tower, viz., 7 marks from July 6-13 last, and from that date 6s. 8d. daily, for the expenses of the said King's son, and 3s. 4d. for the others, till September 30 last: 110 days, £54 6s. 6d."[3] Now if we reckon the sum of £44 7s. 10d. as payment for the same persons at the same rate, prior to July 6, we find that James and his companions must have been committed to the Tower about May 2, 1406. On December 13 of the same year, Sir Ralph Bracebrigge, Lieutenant of the Tower of London, received £53 6s. 8d. "for the expenses of the household of the K(ing) of Scotland's son, Owain Glendourdy, and others in his keeping, at the King's cost, in the Tower."[4] From this date until June 12, 1407, James was a prisoner in the Tower of London. On that day he was entrusted to Richard, Lord Gray of Codenore, that he might be taken to Nottingham Castle.[5] He was in Lord Gray's care at Nottingham throughout the remainder of 1407 and part of 1408, for, on November 16, 1408, Lord Gray received payment of his expenses at Evesham.[6] On 21 December following, warrant was issued to the Chancellor for safe-conducts "until Easter next, for Walter, Bishop of Brechin, Duncan, Earl of Lennox, William, Lord of Graham, John Stewart of Lorne, Walter Stewart of Raylston, Knight, Master Robert of Lanyne, Provost of the Church of St. Andrews, John of Glasgow and John of Busby, Canons of Moray and Dunblane, about to come to the King's presence to treat for the deliverance of James, son of the late K(ing) of Scotland and other arduous matters touching the good of both realms."[7] This is the first recorded effort to secure the liberation of the royal prisoner. A glimpse is given of the English spirit in these transactions with Albany, by the tenor of the commission for a new truce. The commissioners are to treat "cum Roberto Duce Albaniæ, Regni Scotiæ, ut asserit, Gubernatore." A Scottish reader smiles grimly at Henry IV., the usurping Bolingbroke, styling James "son of the King of Scotland" and

Albany "Governor of the kingdom of Scotland as he avers." Albany, in his communications, seems to have ignored the captivity of James, for in a letter of date May 6, 1410, from "our manor of Falkland," he discusses a truce to be kept till May 21, 1411, and he makes not the remotest allusion to his captive nephew.[8] This indifference was not general in Scotland, and in all probability a proposed visit of Elisabeth, Duchess of Rothesay, and the Lord of Lorn and others was planned in the interest of the King.[9] Another Scottish party, headed by the Bishop of Brechin, had a safe-conduct issued to them on May 15, 1412,[10] and one is disposed to ask—"Were they a counter-mission in Albany's interest or another embassy in the interest of James?"

During this period of James's captivity one event of considerable national importance took place. This was the foundation of St. Andrews University by his old guardian Bishop Wardlaw. It is all but certain that King James was in communication with the good bishop and his advisers, and that he was kept informed of what was happening in Scotland, for the King's name, not that of Albany, Governor of Scotland, is associated with the Bishop and Chapter, Prior and Archdeacon, in a petition to Benedict XIII. (Peter de Luna) for Papal confirmation and foundation of the University of St. Andrews.[11] Bower expressly mentions the King's interest in the foundation of the University and his writing to the Pope letters with his own hand.[12]

Albany, who could not procure the release of his sovereign and nephew, succeeded eventually in effecting the release of his own son. A safe-conduct for the hostages of Murdoch, Master of Fife, was issued on May 18, 1412, and a truce for six years was proclaimed on the preceding day.[13] In this proclamation there is no "ut asserit" after Albany's title. The release of Murdoch did not, however, take place until December, 1415.[14]

We find an isolated fact concerning James in a letter to Henry IV. from his son, probably Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. The letter was written at Southampton on May 14, 1412. The writer refers to his brother of Bedford and his forces, and says that his great ship the *Grace Dieu* is ready for sea, and that the King of Scots is on his way to testify his goodwill to the King. "And, Sir, I trowe ye haue on comyng toward 3ow as

glad as any man can be as far as he sheweth, that is the King of Scottes, for he thankith God that he sud mow (now) shewe be experience thentent of his goodwill be the suffrance of your good lordship."

The letter is subscribed "your trewe and humble
liege man and sone
H. G."[15]

In November of this year, as we learn from a letter of his own,[16] James was at Croydon residing, probably, as Mr. J. T. T. Brown supposes,[17] in the palace of Archbishop Arundel. Little more than three months later Henry IV. died, on March 20, 1413, and the writer of the *Book of Pluscarden*[18] credits the dying monarch with a desire to have James set free without a ransom. "Et licet dictus rex Angliæ Henricus ultima sua voluntate ordinavit filio suo Henrico, qui Franciam hostiliter invasit, quod dictus rex Scotiæ libere ad patriam transmitteretur sine quacunque redempcione, non tamen filius hoc perimplere curavit." What foundation there may have been for this report of a death-bed counsel of clemency we know not. Henry V. paid no heed to it, for one of his earliest acts as sovereign, on March 21, 1413, was to consign James, his cousin Murdoch, Douglas of Dalkeith, and William Gifford to the custody of the Constable of the Tower.[19] Payments were made on June 27 and July 17 for the prisoner's maintenance,[20] and on August 3, 1413, James was transferred to Windsor Castle,[21]* thence to Pevensey,[22] and again to Windsor.[23] In view of the romance of his marriage one is tempted to put certain questions. Was this his first Windsor captivity? Were the Beauforts living there then or later? Had Major authority for his statement—"because he was kept prisoner in a castle or chamber, in which a lady dwelt with her mother"?[24] From Windsor, probably in the late autumn, James was sent once more to the Tower, where he seems to have remained throughout 1414.[25]

The Spring of 1414 had seen the fulfilment of one ambition which James had shared with Bishop Wardlaw. This was the confirmation of the Foundation-Charter of the University by

* In August, 1413, Henry V. made a further effort to persuade James to sacrifice the independence of Scotland by swearing homage to him under pain of perpetual imprisonment. (*Scotichron*, ii., pp. 586-7.)

Benedict XIII., who on August 28, 1413, at Peñiscola in Spain, had granted no fewer than six Bulls which were brought to the city by Henry Ogilvy on February 3, 1414, to the great delight of the clergy and citizens, who celebrated the event with much rejoicing.[26]

We owe our knowledge of an incident of 1415 to a petition from one Thomas Hasely to King Henry VI. The petitioner craves a reward for services rendered to King Henry V. in recapturing Thomas Payne, one of Sir John Oldcastle's principal confederates. "And so with the help and grace of Almighty God youre seid serviteur toke hym and arrested hym atte mydnyght in a place beside your castle of Wyndesore wher atte that tyme was the Kyng of Scottes kept as prisoner to your said fader, and that same nyght the said traitour should have broken the said castell be treason and goin with the said Kyng toward Scotland, in proef whereof I found in the traitouris purs a cedule writen of alle places of giftes and loggynges appointed for him fro Wyndesore unto Edynbourgh in Scotland."[27]

On March 17, 1415, in a Parliament or Council held at Perth there were read letters from Edward King of England dated March 1, in the second year of his reign, at York. These letters declared the independence of Scotland, the King renouncing any claim, if claim he had, to the allegiance of Scotland. This was evidently an assertion of the rights of the Scottish Crown as they were acknowledged by the Treaty of Northampton in 1328. (Act Parl. of Scot., vol. i., p. 572.)

The battle of Agincourt, October 25, 1415, sent another royal prisoner to England, Charles d'Orléans, like James a poet; but there is no record of any intercourse between the French prince and the Scottish King.[28] Indeed Henry's French enterprise had proved an incitement to Albany, who proceeded to besiege Berwick.[29] Albany's hostility and diplomacy together accomplished one object at which he had long been aiming: on December 11, 1415, his son Murdoch was liberated in exchange for young Percy.[30]

King James, now a man of twenty-one, would hardly have been human if he had not chafed under his continued captivity. There was therefore a fresh movement for his deliverance. On April 26,

1416, a safe-conduct was granted to the Abbot of Balmerino and others "to treat for deliverance of the King of Scots and upon certain other matters concerning the state of the kingdoms of England and Scotland."[31] On December 8 of the same year there is reference[32] to a desire on the part of James to go to Scotland and remain for a time: the Bishop of Durham and the Earls of Northumberland and Westmoreland are authorised to receive the obligations of hostages or the payment of one hundred thousand marks, if James should not return.[33] A safe-conduct of the same date for persons coming to James's presence indicates that the king has been troublesome. It styles him James Stewart "Regem Scotiae se dicentem." The commissioners who had the safe-conduct were a mixed body of friends and foes: Wardlaw, Bishop of St. Andrews, the Bishop of Glasgow, the recently-liberated Murdoch, son and heir of Albany, and the Earl of Douglas. The mission came to nothing, as was probably the intention both of Henry V. and Albany. For proof of James's impatience we are not restricted to inference: he wrote certain letters[34] which are extant in draft. Unhappily they are not dated, but Sir William Fraser is probably right in assigning them to a date prior to Murdoch's release. The documents "appear to be the original draft by the secretary of King James the First of the letters before being engrossed and despatched to the respective noblemen to whom they were addressed."[35] All show James's displeasure, and, in spite of a cautious and well-considered mode of address, betray distrust of Albany's sincerity and zeal, and a too ingenuous confidence in the goodwill and reasonableness of Henry V. A letter from London dated August 8, year not mentioned, and addressed to the burgh of Perth, reveals a further cause of uneasiness.[36] The King could not get his own revenues, which should have been sent from Scotland, to defray his necessary expenses, and he solicits a gift or loan from the rulers of the Fair City. One hopes that the good burgesses were more thoughtful than the Governor of the kingdom, and that they sent of their "propir guids with ane honest burges of (thair) awin." The letters to Albany and others were almost certainly written from Stratford Abbey.[37] When James went there, or when he left, is not recorded, but we know from the *Proceedings of the Privy Council*[38] that early in March,

1417, he was allowed to travel to the north of England "to await the coming of those who were to come to treat about his deliverance." The commissioners were allowed to take him to the Castle of Raby, but he was not to be allowed to remain more than eight days after the Scots came to his presence.

This conference, also, came to nothing and James returned to London, whence in May, 1418,[39] he was removed to Kenilworth, where he seems to have remained[40] until March 7, 1420,[41] as on this day Sir John Rushworth received one hundred pounds for his expenses.

Meanwhile the Franco-Scottish alliance was giving no little trouble to Henry V. Albany had allowed a Scottish contingent to serve in France, and Henry, thinking to influence the Scots by the presence of their king in the English army, brought James from his prison to join him at Melun. James journeyed by way of Southampton, where he was on May 6, 1420.[42] On July 12 he received money for armour, wearing apparel, horses, and lances for himself and his company. James was associated in his command with Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester.[43]

Earlier historians invented a telling dialogue between the two kings: "King Henry desirit the said James to pas to the Scottis in France and command thame in his name to return to Scotland," and he promised to remit his ransom and send him to Scotland with great riches and honour. "James considers himself, but says he has no power as long as he is a private man and kept in captivity." Whereupon King Henry exclaimed: "Maist happy peple sall thay be that happinnis to get yon nobil man to thair prince!"[44] Such romantic generosity was, unhappily, foreign to the real nature of Shakespeare's Hero King of England. On the surrender of Melun, Henry V. hanged his Scottish prisoners as traitors on the ground that they had been fighting against their own king.[45] In the presence of such tyrannous cruelty James was powerless.

Henry married the princess Katharine of France on June 27, and towards the end of the year he returned to England with his bride, and doubtless with the King of Scotland in his train. Katharine was crowned on S. Valentine's Day 1421, and immediately thereafter the Court made a progress through the country.

King James was with the royal party, and was present at a banquet in the Queen's honour at Leicester on February 27. "Fyrste the Queene satte in hyr astate, and the Archbyshope of Cantyrbury and the Byschop of Wynchester sate on the ryght syde of the Queen, and they were servyd next unto the quene, every cours coveryde as the quenis, and on the lyft side was the Kyng of Schottys sette on hys astate upon the lyfte syde of the Quene that was servyd alle way neste the quene and the byschoppes aforesaide."[46] This triumphal progress, designed to end at York, was cut short by the arrival of news of the battle of Baugé. There on March 23, 1421, the subjects of King James helped to reward the English King for his severity at Melun by defeating his troops and killing his brother the Duke of Clarence.[47] They also captured the Earl of Somerset, future father-in-law of King James.

Later in the same year James gave emphatic indication of his desire to be friendly with England. He consented to an indenture of Archibald, Earl of Douglas, with the King of England, by which instrument Douglas bound himself "to serve the King of England and his heirs against all his enemies, the King of Scots and his heirs excepted, with two hundred knights and squires and two hundred mounted archers."[48] On the following day Henry intimated the terms on which he was willing to allow James to visit Scotland.[49] These terms throw some light upon the mood of the English King, for practically they came to this. James was to send to England as hostages all the chief prelates, noblemen, and gentlemen of Scotland, except the Duke of Albany and the Earl of Douglas. Albany was to send his eldest son, and Douglas his second son.[50] It was a grotesque proposal made only that it might be rejected, and it possibly undeceived James as to the graciousness of his cousin the King of England. Nevertheless one seems to read in the changed phraseology of legal documents a certain growing kindness towards the captive King. In a safe-conduct, October 14, 1421, he is "the King's dearest cousin, James, King of Scots."[51] Towards the close of the year James is once more in the Tower of London.[52] This captivity was varied by another sojourn in France. He proved a good soldier: "What his valour was the wars of France bear witness. For, accompanying the King of England there, he laid siege to the town of Dreux, and

with such violence and valour (saith the English History) assaulted it for the space of six weeks that with main strength he compelled it to be rendered into his hands and given to King Henry."[52*] On August 25, 1422, Sir William Meryng and others were paid for attendance upon him at Rouen and elsewhere for two hundred and ten days.[53] Within a week of this date Henry V. died at Bois Vincent, and left as his successor the child Henry VI., whose reign was to be even more unfortunate than that of James I. of Scotland. James was with Queen Katharine when she brought her husband's body to England,[54] and thereafter he was at the English Court.[55] Whether the Lady Joan Beaufort was of the Queen's circle we have no means of knowing ; probably she was. He was at the palace of Westminster for twenty-four days, but on February 17, 1423, he was in prison at Pontefract.[56] Negotiations for his release begin again at this point, and henceforward, until they are completed, we can trace with tolerable clearness in official documents the progress of his love-suit and of his liberation, which are to some extent bound up together.

On May 12, 1423, a safe-conduct is sent to the Bishop of Glasgow, Chancellor of Scotland, and others coming to treat of the deliverance of "our cousin, the King of Scots."[57] Later in the same month James is paid a hundred pounds for his private expenses,[58] and on June 30 warrant is given on a generous scale for various payments on his account.[59] A week later the commissioners who are to treat with the Scottish ambassadors receive their instructions which are singularly elaborate and diplomatic. If the Scots ambassadors wish to have a private conference with their King before the arrival of the Lord Chancellor the English commissioners are to grant it, but not at once. They are to be ill to persuade : "reddentes tamen se difficiles in hujusmodi Licentia concedenda." They are to ask £40,000 as ransom, and they may abate to £30,000, but no further. The English government was thus to be paid more than £1,500 a year for their prisoner's maintenance, though the highest sum paid for him in the later years of his captivity was £700 a year. The most important private instruction related to a possible English marriage for James. "Also, if the ambassadors from Scotland, for nourishing and preserving greater friendship, should seek covenants and

alliances by marriage between the said King of Scots and any noble lady of the realm of England, let the commissioners of the said Lord, our King, make answer that the said King of Scots knows many noble women, some even of the royal stock." "If the King of Scots in these circumstances makes known his wishes, the ambassadors are to communicate with him or his representatives more fully as time and circumstances permit. If nothing is said by the Scots about marriage the English are not to mention it, as the women of the realm of England, at least those of noble birth, are not wont to offer themselves in marriage unsolicited."[60]

Plainly the English Council had grounds for believing that James had formed an attachment to one of the ladies of the Court, and perhaps wished to test his sincerity, for such an attachment might have been but a passing mood or even a diplomatic move like Randolph's wooing of Mary Bethune. The language of the instructions is as pointed as the circumstances allow, and yet it is so guarded that no one could be compromised if James and the Scots were silent on the subject. The Bishop of Winchester, afterwards Cardinal Beaufort, had probably encouraged the royal love match, for the Duke of Gloucester, when he attacked him in 1440 for advising the liberation of Charles d'Orléans, made it a ground of accusation, in a letter to Henry VI., that he had done the like for the King of Scots. "Item as in your tendre age the saide cardinal, thanne being bishop of Winchestre and chauncellier of England, delivered the king of Scottes upon certaine appointments, as may be shewed and is presumed to be doen by auctorite of parlement, where in dede I have herd full notable men of the Lower House saye that they never hard of it amonges them which was to great defraudacion to youre highnesse, and al to wedde his nece to the saide kyng, whom my lord youre fader (whom God assoile) wolde never have so delivered. And when he should have paied for his costs xl. m. l. the saide cardinal, so being chauncellier, caused you to pardonne hym x. m. marc. and as of the grete some he paied you right litel I reporte me to youre highnesse."[61]

Murdoch, Duke of Albany, who had succeeded his father as Governor of Scotland in 1420,[62] issued his commission to the Scottish ambassadors at Inverkeithing on August 19, 1423.[63]

On September 11, in the chapter-house of York Minster the conditions of the King's release were agreed to, and among the articles of agreement there was one that it seemed expedient that the said lord, King James, should contract a marriage with some high-born lady of the realm of England. The terms of ransom were very oppressive. A total of £40,000 was to be paid in yearly sums of 10,000 merks, the last instalment of which might be remitted. This agreement shows that the Scots had not "haggled" over the bargain. The Scottish ambassadors had not been instructed about the names and rank of the hostages—which omission looks like a bit of "slimness" on the part of Murdoch. James was to go on March 1, 1424, to Durham or to the Castle of Brainspath near Durham that he might be able to treat with nobles of his blood and subjects of his kingdom, who were to be his hostages.[64] All details, however, had been settled before March 1, 1424, for on December 4, 1423, four of the Scottish commissioners had signed letters declaring the terms of payment, the date and place where hostages were to be delivered, and the obligations of the four chief Scottish burghs, Edinburgh, Perth, Aberdeen, and Dundee.[65] There was a stipulation that the father of a hostage was not to disinherit his son. The obligations of the four burghs were guaranteed, February 16-20.

In anticipation of his freedom, and the marriage which was to crown it, James had spent his Christmas in Hertford Castle with Queen Katharine. He was married to Joan Beaufort by the Bishop of Winchester at the church of St. Mary Overy, Southwark, on S. Valentine's Eve, 1424.[66] The entry in the chronicle of William Gregory is amusing. "And that same year in the monythe of Feverer the Stywarde of the Kings of Scottys whose name was Jamys weddyd the Erlys daughter of Somerset at Synt-Mary Overes."[67] As dowry James received remission of ten thousand merks of his ransom.[68] After a brief honeymoon in London the young King and Queen set out for Scotland in March. The concluding act of the diplomatic bargaining took place at Durham where hostages were delivered, and where on March 28 James agreed to a truce with England for seven years from May following.[69] On the same day he took an oath that "within four days to be computed from the first day of his entry into his own

kingdom he would promise solemnly, and on his royal word would swear upon the Holy Scriptures of God, by him corporally touched, that he would fully and faithfully do and fulfil all and several the things agreed upon in the instruments for his liberation."[70] This agreement was carried out at Melrose on April 5, "in the nineteenth year of our reign," and a letter confirming it was sent to the Bishop of Durham by the hands of William Scott, Master in Arts.[71] In the Bishop's absence the letter was to be delivered to the Prior of the monastery of Durham.

From Melrose onward King James and his consort made a royal progress amid the acclamations of their subjects, who had high hopes of a reign opening thus with liberty regained and their King's most happy marriage.

III

REIGN

King James and Queen Joan kept Easter in Edinburgh, not long thereafter journeying to Perth, then the capital, and on May 21 they were crowned at Scone.[1] Their joint reign lasted nearly thirteen years. It was marked by a singularly close affection between royal husband and wife as well as by a public policy which shews that James I. may rightly be regarded as in many ways the greatest and most enlightened of Scottish sovereigns. Some comprehension of the King's nature is necessary if we are to estimate aright the poems commonly attributed to him, and his character comes out in his legislation as well as in what is known of his private life. For James's public policy, in so far as it made of the Scottish people a nation with worthy ideals and a spirit of loyalty to the Crown, and, indeed, in so far as it failed of the complete success which it deserved, was due to a certain poetic ardour, and to the moral severity of an idealism which underrated the temper and unscrupulousness of the men whose injurious privileges and extravagant power he steadily sought by force of law to restrain. There is in him an imaginative strain, a quick feeling for men as men, a tender solicitude for the poorer members of the commonalty, and there is a corresponding resentment against the independence and ambition of many of his nobles, who were too

often as antagonistic to royal authority as they were regardless of the rights of the poor, and of the general welfare of the country. In this idealism and in concern for the dim common population he was the true ancestor of all the Stuarts except James VI. and Charles II., the two who died comfortably in their beds. In his pure and affectionate family life, and in the studied deference which he shewed to his Queen there is the same chivalrous temper; and the end of all came, because, idealist as he was, he mis-read the character of a crafty old kinsman whom he had benefited, the spirit of an enemy whom he had perhaps wronged, and of a young cousin and courtier for whom he cherished a too warm and trusting affection. In this also he was the ancestor of all the more amiable Stuarts. For his idealism made him blind to the dangerous side of those whom he favoured.

Rightly to interpret the leading features of the reign it is necessary to bear in mind not only the idealistic temper of the King but also the experience through which he had passed before he came to the throne. For eighteen years he had lived a life which made knowledge of men difficult, and knowledge of his own countrymen, save a few personal attendants, impossible. Not less important is this fact: the government of Albany and his son, by its avowedly temporary and make-shift character, aggravated certain evils in the Scottish body politic. Bower, who is decidedly favourable to the elder Albany, says: "He governed virtuously: and if under his rule any crimes were committed by the powerful he patiently overlooked them for the time; and those evils he understood how to reform when a fitting opportunity offered, or to effect improvement according to his wishes, giving heed to the sentiment of Claudian: 'Quod violenta nequit, peragit tranquilla potestas.'"[2] These opportune reforms Bower does not mention in detail, and as the parliamentary records of Albany's government are all but wholly lost, it is not possible to estimate the character of his legislation. Murdoch Bower dismisses in a couple of sentences. "He was too remiss in government, wherefore his sons became more insolent than was right, doing what they pleased, not what was lawful, and they were punished when the King came to his own."[3] This is emphasised when Bower speaks of what was told to James on the

first day of his entering into his kingdom that "government was slack and that his subjects were exposed to theft, fraud and rapine." This statement called forth the memorable answer that "if he lived, even if but the life of a dog, by the help of God he would make the key keep the castle and the furze bush the cow, throughout the realm."[4]

More than common heed must also be paid to the character of the King's uncle, Walter Stuart, Earl of Atholl. (He had been energetic in procuring the liberation of the King.)[5] Bower, and the unknown author of the account of the King's death translated by Shirley,[6] as well as the writer of the *Chronicon Jacobi Primi Regis Scottorum*, who calls him "that old serpent of evil days,"[7] all take a most sinister view of his character. He is credited with being the real instigator of the murder of Rothesay. He was one of the Court that condemned Duke Murdoch and his sons. He enjoyed the fruits of the King's annexation of the earldom of Strathearn though he had been guardian of Malise Graham who was deprived of it. And he was in the plot for the King's murder which was made possible by the treachery of his grandson. The Earl of Atholl was thus a most dangerous counsellor to have the ear of an eager-minded poetic young King who did not know his countrymen.

King James had frequent and regular parliaments. He introduced the principle of representative government and instituted a Supreme Court of Justice, The Session, and he had an advocate appointed for the poor. He caused the laws of the kingdom to be codified, enacting that new laws should be expressed in the vernacular and be formally and fully published for the information of the people. A register of charters was begun, and tenants of lands throughout the kingdom were granted certain rights and a measure of security of tenure. Leases were not to end when the feudal lord transferred his rights to another. The vagrant poor were discriminated into two classes—one to be repressed as idle, the other to have special privileges as the King's Bedesmen. Crops were protected from violent or heedless injury and a close-time was fixed for fishing. The Commons were commanded to consider the welfare of the kingdom more than their own pleasure. Archery was therefore encouraged by law

and football forbidden. The very lepers were considered, no less than the public safety, and set days were appointed on which they might go to the burghs and obtain their modest provisioning.

As the law was for all, and not for common folk only, the greater barons and great lords were also made the subject of special legislation. Their private wars and public feuds were forbidden and the number of retainers whom they might take with them on journeys through the country was limited, as were the places and manner of their entertainment. Strict inquiry was made into the royal revenues and into grants to private persons, also into the dilapidation of the Crown property. We have already seen the kind of appeal made by the King in his captivity to the good burgesses of Perth[8] because his uncle did not give him his due, or indeed, so far as appears, any share of the Crown revenue. The King's deliberate purpose was to strengthen the Crown and to subject the great feudal lords to the central government. This general policy was bound to lead to rigorous treatment of individual noblemen, as they all possessed in their own dominions powers which made them possible public enemies with means of doing incalculable mischief. It is in this connection that James has been most severely condemned by historians. In 1424, before his coronation, and on a charge which Bower does not mention, Walter Stewart, heir of Duke Murdoch, Malcolm Fleming of Cumbernauld, and Thomas Boyd, younger of Kilmarnock, were arrested and thrown into prison. One is tempted to associate the Earl of Atholl with this unexplained move on the part of the King. Yet the young men may have fallen into some English entanglement. Later in the same year, the Earl of Lennox, Murdoch's father-in-law, and Sir Robert Graham were arrested. In the Spring of the following year Duke Murdoch and his two sons were brought to trial along with Lennox, and all were found guilty of treason and executed. Graham was not tried but set at liberty, and eventually he met a fate by the side of which beheading would have been compassion.

In 1427 Malise Graham, Earl of Strathearn, who was a hostage in England, was deprived of his estates and title on the plea that this heritage could not pass in the female line.[9] He was made

Earl of Menteith by way of compensation, and the life-rent of Strathearn was given to the Earl of Atholl, who was meanwhile the only person benefited by what was undoubtedly an act of oppression. Whether Atholl encouraged it or not can only be matter of conjecture. It enraged Sir Robert Graham who was Menteith's uncle, and who had his own previous arrest full in mind. The annexation was a grave injustice, unless there were other circumstances undisclosed, and now unknown. Nevertheless, in palliation of James's action there is something to be said. He could not be familiar with Scottish law and practice. He was smarting under the loss of Crown property and revenue throughout the eighteen years of the regency of the two Albanys, and this great domain of Strathearn had been the property of his uncle, Atholl's elder brother David. As the Grahams were plainly hostile, James was too easily persuaded to make bad law take the place of justice.

In 1434 the Earl of March was deprived of his title and estates, on the ground that Governor Albany had exceeded his powers when he restored them three years after the capture of James by the English, on what conditions can only be conjectured. Parliament approved the recall of the grant and March was offered the Earldom of Buchan. March was the son of a traitor, as Earl of March he held the key to the kingdom of Scotland, and he could open the gate to the English enemy at any moment. At the time when March was deprived there were serious complications with the English government which was resentful of the marriage arranged between the Dauphin and the Princess Margaret. Indeed England was the resort of every Scottish traitor from the death of Alexander III. to the Union of the Crowns, and James, through his Queen, had better means of knowing what was going on in that country than any of his predecessors. Whatever may be said against these particular acts, they were at least grounded upon reasons of state, and the policy of which they were a part was a sound policy. They were designed to remedy old wrongs by which the Crown had been injured. Neither Kings nor Commons readily come to the conviction that to correct one injustice by another is not wisdom. Looking to all the circumstances and to the after-history of Scotland we must acknowledge that it was no

small calamity that James did not succeed in wholly subduing his nobility, or live long enough to accomplish other labours which he had begun with energy and wisdom.

The only public protest was made in Parliament by Sir Robert Graham who thought he had the nobles with him, and who laid violent hands on the King and announced that he arrested him in the name of the Three Estates.[10] He was alone in his outrage, and James contented himself with sending him into exile and confiscating his estates, a misplaced clemency which Scotland was bitterly to rue. Graham fled to the Highlands and defied the King, by act and letter renouncing his allegiance.

Another phase of this determination to strengthen the central authority the King shewed in his dealings with the Celtic chieftains of the Highlands and Islands. His severity and his occasional well-timed clemency made for the union of Highlands and Lowlands. Few incidents in the picturesque annals of Scotland are more quaintly striking than the appearance of Alexander, Lord of the Isles, " in camisia et femoribus tantum indutus, genibus flexis," before the high altar of the Abbey Church of Holyrood casting himself upon the mercy of the King. It was an appropriate sequel to his stern dealings with the Highland leaders at the Parliament of Inverness in 1427 and to his victory over Alexander in 1429 in Lochaber.

In no aspect of his policy was the King more public-spirited and judicious than in his dealings with the Church and with Churchmen. His experience of Bishop Wardlaw and of Cardinal Beaufort had shewn him the goodwill and the capacity of ecclesiastics. He confirmed the clergy in their rights, but he gave them no exemption from taxation. He sought to keep them Scotsmen as well as Churchmen. They were forbidden except under reasonable conditions to leave the country, and, under penalties, to make interest at Rome for pensions from benefices. In his second Parliament the King had formally addressed the Abbots and Priors and had exhorted them to see that greater heed should be given to the rules of their orders, to the holding of general chapters, and to greater austerity of life. And he was not content merely to give counsel. He took an active interest in the extension of monasticism and founded a Carthusian convent at

Perth. He freely sought the advice of the clergy, but he never leant unduly upon them, and he loved justice more than the Church or Church privileges. His Parliament of 1427 dealt with the dilatoriness of Church Courts in civil causes and laid down rules for more expeditious procedure, dealing as well with frivolous appeals and making the presiding ecclesiastic liable in a penalty if he delayed more than forty days in giving judgment or allowed appeal upon trivial points. This statute, as we shall see, brought the King and his advisers into conflict with the Pope.

James had a love of knowledge and a favour for learned men. Boece notes in this connection what he did for the University of St. Andrews. "He broucht in Scotland xviii Doctoures of Theology, viii Doctoures of Decreis with many other expert men in al science and promovit thame to sindry prelacyis."[11] Fresh light has been shed upon James's interest in learning and upon his comparatively free attitude to the Church by a discovery of Mr. Maitland Anderson, University Librarian at St. Andrews. The King, as we have already noted, was nominally at least at the head of the movement for Papal recognition of the Foundation of the University. Nevertheless, in 1426, in his own name he petitioned Pope Martin V. to sanction the transference of the University to St. John's town or Perth, "because St. Andrews was near the sea and exposed to danger from wars and dissensions with England, while Perth was in the heart of the kingdom and had a mild climate and abundance of victuals of all kinds."[12] The Pope's reply to the King himself is not known. He remitted the petition for inquiry and report to the Bishops of Glasgow and Dunblane, and it is from his letter of instruction to these prelates that knowledge of the King's design has come to us.[13] In spite of his failure to transfer the University to the civil capital of his kingdom King James granted on March 20, 1432, and on March 31 confirmed certain privileges to all its members from the Rector and Deans of Faculties to the *bedelli* and scholars. They were all taken "into the King's firm peace, keeping and maintenance and fully exempted from all tributes, gifts, actions, taxings, watchings, guardings, and payments." There is a certain imaginative touch even in the charter. The grant is made "for cherishing and advancing the prosperous and happy state Almae

Universitatis S^ti^ Andreae filiae nostrae quam dilectae."[14] The terms of the charter shew appreciation of men of learning: "These are they who give light to the multitude of the Lord's flock,[15a] and make known the straight way to the runners in the stadium, who by the fruit of good work allure some to virtue and by example draw others to desire of divine knowledge." The King was not content with this act of generosity to his "beloved daughter." He was present at a meeting with the Bishop, Prior, and others, probably at St. Andrews, on March 18, 1429, when statutes were made for the Faculty of Theology and regulations were prescribed for graduation in the same.[15b] He continued to take an active interest in the teaching and discipline of the Schools, and made it effective by an Appunctamentum which in November, 1432, he sent to the Faculty of Arts by William de Foulis, Keeper of the Privy Seal. In the minutes of the Faculty the King's initials I.R. appear. By this instruction, for such it was, the Dean of the Faculty of Arts was made a kind of Inspector-general of the different Schools with the three senior masters as assistants. He was to pay weekly visits and to allow no student, save for sufficient reason and with formal permission, to pass from one School to another. Masters and students were instructed to cultivate closer fellowship by attendance at one another's weekly disputations. The moral tone was to be improved by careful restraint of students from all excess.[15c]

James adopted the attitude of his age towards heresy. Lollardism, as in England, was looked upon as a public danger. Resby, a Wycliffite priest, had been burned at Perth by Albany early in the King's captivity. The Parliament of 1425 passed an Act against Lollards and all heretics, and it did not remain a dead letter, for on July 23, 1433, Paulus Crawar, Teutonicus, was put to death at St. Andrews. He was thus the St. Andrews proto-martyr. Yet by some oversight Crawar's name does not appear on a very ugly obelisk which commemorates the early martyrs of the Reformation and disfigures one of the finest prospects in the old gray town.

James's foreign policy was as enlightened as his home legislation. He steadily sought to be friendly with England and at the same time to maintain the alliance with France. His reign began with

a seven years' truce, and he kept to a peace policy until it was broken by the English, who were indignant at the strengthening of the French alliance in 1428 by the betrothal of the Princess Margaret to the Dauphin. A method of counter-attraction was attempted. Cardinal Beaufort went to Scotland and met the King. The meeting was arranged "for certain great and notable causes affecting the state of the Catholic Faith and the honour and usefulness of the Universal Church as well as the honour and weal of the two kingdoms."[16] At Edinburgh on December 15, 1430, a truce was signed. It was to hold from sunset on May 1, 1431, till May 1, 1436,[17] but on November 24, 1435, King James issued a commission to prorogue the truce.[18] A forward movement had been made by the English in 1433 when Lord Scrope was sent to offer the restoration of Roxburgh and Berwick and all that had formerly belonged to Scotland, if the Scottish government would break the league with France. Bower, who was a member of the Parliament which considered these proposals, was a strenuous opponent of the pro-English policy, and had as chief supporter the Abbot of Scone. The opposition to the English overtures was successful, and Bower adds: "It was eventually discovered that the English design was to create a division in our kingdom."[19] Tytler[20] blames the clergy for what he supposes to be an obstinate refusal to accept terms advantageous to the country. But to have broken thus with France would have been a practical surrender to the tender mercies of England. James knew only too well the fixed determination of the English rulers. His capture and long imprisonment and such pressure as he had been subjected to had all one object made clear by the letter of Henry V.[21] already quoted, namely, the signing away of the independence of Scotland and the establishment of an English suzerainty. Indeed this hope of the English government remained a factor in international politics down to the reign of Henry VIII.[22]

An unsuccessful raid was made by the English under Sir Robert Ogle in September, 1435, and fresh cause of resentment was given by an attempt in the Spring of 1436 to capture the Princess Margaret on her way to France. At length James moved against them by laying siege to Roxburgh Castle in August, 1436. But the expedition had lasted only for fifteen

days when the Queen arrived suddenly before the castle with some information for the King which led him to abandon the enterprise. James was a brave man, like many lovers of peace, and the meaning of this inglorious conclusion to an apparently hopeful undertaking can only be guessed at. The writer of the *Chronicon* says that the failure "was due to a detestable schism and villainous division springing from envy."[23] Tytler conjectures that the Queen had brought information of some conspiracy at home.[24] If later English intriguing in Scotland during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth may help towards accurate inference — and there was a wonderful sameness in Southern methods as well as in the one main design—the visit of Scrope and the discussion of his proposals were probably coincident with the forming of a secret English party among the nobles. With respect to France James's policy was equally clear-sighted. He was friendly but never subservient, and never blind to the interests of Scotland. He came to an understanding with Norway about the Western Isles which had been held by feudal tenure since 1266 with more than the usual carelessness about payment of dues to the overlord; and he had equal success in settling trade disputes with Holland.

Good Churchman though he was James did not altogether escape conflict with the Pope. Yet the cause of the controversy, in its substance if not in its form, was honourable alike to the King and his Parliament. It arose from the Act for more expeditious determination of civil causes in Ecclesiastical Courts. Parliament had invaded the sphere of the Church by the clause of the Act which ordained that the statute should also be passed by the Provincial Council then sitting.[25] This wrong, attempted by giving instruction to a Spiritual Court, was aggravated in the eyes of the Pope by the fact that the Chancellor of the kingdom, Cameron, Bishop of Glasgow, was a party to it. The Pope summoned Cameron to Rome. James would not allow him to leave the country, and deprived William Croyser, Archdeacon of Teviotdale, who had cited him to the Papal Court, of all his benefices in Scotland. The Pope retaliated, and on May 8, 1435, annulled all the proceedings against Croyser.[26] He also wrote to James in very courteous and flattering terms denouncing his evil

advisers the prelates, who had sacrificed the rights of the Church.[27] A complete rupture was avoided by the King's conciliatory attitude. He sent envoys to Rome to request the despatch of a legate, and the Pope appointed Antonio of San Vita, Bishop of Urbino, who arrived in Scotland before Christmas, 1436. An audience was fixed at Perth for the opening of Parliament on February 4, 1437.

A distinguished visitor had come to Scotland in the winter of 1435. This was Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini, not then in orders but by and by to rule the Catholic world as Pius II. His account of his visit is full of interest as a revelation of his own character and as descriptive of some things in Scotland, but it sheds no light on the character of the King and gives not a glimpse of the royal court or household.[28] Ostensibly he came from the Cardinal of Santa Croce to persuade the King to take again into favour some bishop who is not named. Sheriff Mackay thinks that both of these missions were designed "to procure the adhesion of James to the treaty of Arras."[29]

While these manifold public transactions were going forward James's home life had been singularly happy. His marriage had been a love-match and it remained so. By his public acts and private conduct he shewed how greatly he held the Queen in honour. She was crowned with him. In one of his early Parliaments every bishop was enjoined to ordain that "every priest, regular and secular, at the celebration of Mass should use an appointed collect for the welfare of the King and Queen and their children." On July 12, 1428, an Act was passed that the successors of prelates and heirs of earls, barons, and freeholders should be bound to take the same oath to the Queen as to the King, while on January 15, 1434, all lords of Parliament, ecclesiastical and secular, and all commissioners of burghs promised to give their letters of submission and fidelity to our Lady the Queen. Striking indirect testimony to the Queen's position in the royal circle is given by Pope Eugenius II. When he wrote to the King about the infringement of ecclesiastical privileges, he wrote also to Queen Joan.[30] The most complete revelation of the kind of home-life led by King James and Queen Joan is to be found in the records which bear upon the second of the two missions from

France in connection with the betrothal and marriage of the Princess Margaret. The first, in 1428, which was headed by the Archbishop of Rheims, John Stewart of Darnley Seigneur d'Aubigny and Count of Evreux, and Alain Chartier, gives nothing tangible save the eloquence of the poet orator who moved his Scottish hearers by a pathetic account of the miseries of France still struggling with the English enemy, and not yet saved by the peasant saint who had at least one Scottish sympathiser in her darkest hour of trial.[31] The second mission[32] was headed by Regnault Girard, lord of Bazoches, who landed at Dumbarton early in January, 1435, and remained in Scotland till late in the Spring of 1436, as he landed at La Rochelle on May 5, with the child-bride; eleven and a half years she was, the same age as her father when he was captured by the English.* Negotiations about the marriage were spun out so long because the King and Queen were reluctant to part with their daughter, and finally when the parting came the King's emotion shewed how truly he was giving away "a thrid of his own life." He caused the ships of the French fleet to manœuvre before him that he might select the galley for his daughter; and he shewed to Girard very marked personal courtesy. The King "ordered me, Regnault Girard, to kiss the Queen, and the Queen kindly and graciously saluted me; which kiss I repute the greatest honour ever bestowed on me." James cut short the parting with Margaret and went ashore weeping bitterly. Margaret, like her father, had an idealistic nature; she loved poetry and poets, and she found hard fact too much for her with the Dauphin, who became Louis XI., for a husband and calumny and neglect for her portion.

King James and his Queen had ten children, one of whom, Alexander, a twin brother of James II., died in infancy. All the others were daughters and all survived their parents and made marriages suitable to their rank. But Margaret is the only one who plays a part to be noted during the lifetime of father or mother. Happy in her children the Queen had one other joy

* The conditions of the marriage shew how little subservient he was to France. "A town of her own was to be assigned in France to Margaret: a Scotsman was to be in command and the guard to be a Scottish one; the Princess must have Scottish ladies with her to keep her company."

rare in the family history of Stuarts or Beauforts. The King was all her own. She had no Hagar and no Ishmael to mar her peace and cloud her happiness.[33] She was at the last to shew how brave she was and how fully she responded to this pure affection.

The goodwill of the Pope and the cessation of the transient war with England foreshadowed a happy Christmas for 1436 at Perth, where the King had determined to hold the festival. The Holy Season and the following weeks were spent with great mirth and much feasting. As Lent drew near James had the Papal legate as his father confessor and "by him he was absolved from penance and from fault."[34]

Meanwhile Sir Robert Graham had been busy. His hostility had not abated and he had planned to celebrate Christmas by the slaughter of the King. But something hindered. Whether Atholl, who was universally regarded as the arch-plotter, had given a signal for delay cannot be decided. Certainly Atholl and his grandson Robert Stuart, the King's private chamberlain, were deep in the plot, and this kept the King unsuspicious and unguarded. Graham, with certain former servants of the Duke of Albany and three hundred wild Highlanders, stole into the monastery an hour or two before midnight on February 20, 1437. The leaders burst into the King's chamber where they found him in undress and without arms. He made a manful struggle for life striking to the ground the leading assailants, but he was overpowered and slain, no fewer than twenty-eight wounds being found after death on his breast alone.[35] The Queen also was grievously wounded, doubtless in a vain attempt to shield her husband. A brother of the Earl of March, who was the first to hear the din, fought valiantly with some of the assassins as they were escaping. But he was too late to give effective help. Entering the King's bedchamber he found him dead and bathed in blood. The Papal legate, according to the writer of the *Chronicon*, was summoned to see the dead King: "He wept and cried aloud and kissed his wounds, and in the presence of all who stood by he said that he believed on peril of his soul's salvation that the King had died in a state of grace for the defence of the State and the furtherance of justice."[36]

The Queen at once displayed the most extraordinary energy for

the apprehension of the murderers. All were speedily captured, a sure indication that the King was beloved by the people. The criminals were tortured in a fashion so barbarous that the recital of it is heavy reading. Queen Joan acted in the spirit of the lover in *Fair Helen of Kirkconnel*, and went beyond him far in the extremity of her vengeance.

The after-story of the Queen is a second tragedy. In King James there had passed away the only man in Scotland who had either the vision or the strength to cope with the grasping and unscrupulous band who took the leading part in national public life. There was a fight for possession of the child-king and no consideration whatever for the Queen-Mother. She tried concession and diplomacy, and finally in self-defence married Sir James Stewart, son of the Black Knight of Lorn. Stewart in consequence of this marriage was a marked man. Some measure of liberty was procured for him by the Queen's surrender of part of her rights over her son. Nothing availed, however, for her peace, and although the mother of three young children she was made virtually a prisoner and taken to the Castle of Dunbar by Patrick Hepburn of Hailes. She died on July 15, 1445, a few weeks before her daughter, the Dauphiness, and found her last resting place beside her husband in the church of the Carthusian monastery which his piety had founded.

IV

ACCOMPLISHMENTS

Bower dwells at great length upon King James's character as a sovereign and his accomplishments as a man.[37] He describes the peace which prevailed during his reign and the spirit of confidence due to his restraint of violence and to his effective administration of justice. The King's writ ran everywhere and even a verbal message cowed the most powerful—except Sir Robert Graham, who for the moment has slipt from the historian's memory.

The King's accomplishments are so many and varied and his skill in all is so very great that the reader is tempted to be sceptical. He excelled in all manly sports. He ran, rode, and walked with great speed and vigour. He was an excellent archer

and dexterously tilted at the ring. He threw the hammer, putted the stone, and wrestled with unequalled skill and strength. He was an accomplished musician, he sang, and played upon many instruments. On the harp he was a second Orpheus, and he excelled in Irish no less than in Scottish music. He was interested in the mechanic arts, and he loved drawing, painting, gardening, and forestry. He was an earnest student, and gave himself eagerly to literary composition and to the art of writing; while with a scarcely credible fervour he loved knowledge of the Scriptures.

Bower, however, names no single writing of the King, but his statement implies that the King was an author both in prose and verse. From Bower's day onward testimony to the King's literary gifts is uniform, except in fragmentary and partial work like the *Chronicon*. The first to specify individual works is Major,[38] who names poems entitled *Yas Sen* and *At Beltayn*, and describes the *Kingis Quair*. Hector Boece mentions no single composition, but is like Bower perfectly general, only more emphatic. The King "knew thoroughly grammar, oratory, and poetry, and he composed such finished poems in the vernacular tongue that the reader would believe him to be a born poet."[39] From Boece to Buchanan Scottish historians confirm the tradition, but they are plainly indebted to their predecessors, whose language they simply vary and embellish. Indeed Boece, Bellenden, Leslie, and Buchanan found upon Bower and Major, and no one would infer from the language of any of them but Buchanan that the writer had a first hand acquaintance with any poems ascribed to James.

Where the Scottish historians fail English writers help a little. Bale, in his *Scriptorum illustrium Majoris Britanniae Catalogus*, has this statement: "In the vernacular tongue he composed finished poems; in the Latin language, after the manner of his age, (he wrote poems) which were confused and inartistic yet packed with serious thought: and among other (writings in verse) when he was a prisoner in England he composed in the English tongue: *On his future wife*, one book; *Scottish Songs*, one book; *Latin Rhythms*, one book; and other poems which are approved by many."[40]

Bale's testimony is quoted by Bishop Montague of Winchester in his preface to the Works of King James VI. "James the First

writ divers books both in English and Latine verse. He writ also as Baleus saith 'De uxore futura.'"[40a] Dempster[41] goes beyond Bale. He states that the King "wrote many things: among these one book of most just laws and one book on Music" in addition to the list given by Bale.

The Latin Rhythms have disappeared. All that remains of the King's Latin verse is the couplet composed on the apprehension of the Highland leaders at Inverness.* The poem *On his future wife* is without doubt the *Kingis Quair*, found only in the Bodleian MS., Arch. Selden B. 24. The Scottish songs *may* be *Christis Kirk on the Grene*, assigned to him in the Bannatyne MS., and *Peblis to the Play*, which is found in the Maitland MS. but which is not there assigned to any author. Language and style of versification point to a considerably later date than 1437, and the substance of the poems, which deal with various phases of Scottish rustic merriment in the broadest spirit, makes a royal authorship difficult of acceptance. There is not a tinge of culture or even a casual phrase which would suggest the man of letters, nor does anyone outside of the rank of the peasantry appear in the poems even as a spectator. That a man of King James's ability could have written in perfectly idiomatic Scots is likely enough, but that he could have had such familiarity with it as to employ a vocabulary so racy and so uncommon as is found in both of these poems is not probable. Yet the two poems have a close affinity, and suggest either a common author or the modelling of the one poem on the other. One other poem is assigned to King James in a late edition of the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis*.[42] This is without title and has the colophon *Quod King James the First.* The poem is also in the Bannatyne MS., and there are many marked variations in the text. An imperfect form is found in a Cambridge MS.[43] Professor Skeat, who has entitled it *Good Counsel*, has given all the forms and also an amended text. He accepts the royal authorship, and there is no reason for rejecting it except the absence of earlier testimony than 1578 and Bannatyne's failure to name the poet. It is a purely Scottish poem, and reminds a reader

* Ad turrim fortem ducamus cautè cohortem :
Per Christi sortem meruerunt hi quia mortem.
(*Scotichr.*, ii., p. 489.)

of the manner and spirit of Henryson. It is wholly didactic, and is as unlike *Christis Kirk on the Grene* and *Peblis to the Play* as *Man was made to mourn* is unlike *The Jolly Beggars*. If it could be accepted as certainly the work of King James it would go far to take the edge from the argument against his authorship of the *Kingis Quair* on the ground of its extremely didactic character.[44] It would thus fall into the class described by Bale as "other poems approved by many."

II

AUTHENTICITY OF THE QUAIR

UNTIL the year 1896 acceptance of the testimony to King James First's authorship of the *Quair* was uniform. Tytler, the first editor, and Professor W. W. Skeat, the most recent, never surmised that doubt was possible. But we live in a critical age, when works more venerable and infinitely more important are no longer assigned to their traditional authors. Indeed, the wonder is that, in centuries so critical as the eighteenth and nineteenth, the authenticity of the *Quair* remained so long unchallenged. The first adverse note was sounded by Mr. J. T. T. Brown,[1] who sought to dissipate the traditional belief and to gain acceptance of a counter-theory that the poet was some Scot writing comparatively late in the fifteenth century under the influence of *The Court of Love*. Whatever may be thought of the cogency of his arguments, Mr. Brown's criticism is neither halting nor hesitating. To begin with, he demurs to Dr. Skeat's description of the language of the poem as a dialect in which "the author abandons the grammar used in the Lowlands of Scotland and attempts to imitate all the inflections of the Midland dialect of Chaucer."[2] In Mr. Brown's opinion the artificiality of the language of the poem is unduly emphasised. It is manifestly the work of a Scottish poet, writing for the most part in Lowland Scots, but using occasionally southern forms and idioms. This fact alone discredits James's authorship, as he could not have used his native dialect freely after an eighteen years absence from Scotland, which he left in his twelfth year.

Mr. Brown also disputes the authenticity of the autograph Croydon letter of 30 November, 1412.[3] This is in Lowland Scots which has no English admixture. He bases his rejection on the fact that though the document is a charter it never passed the Great Seal and is unwitnessed.[4] Besides, the language, as he avers, is of a later cast than the Scottish dialect of 1412. So far from being a possible work of King James I. the *Quair* belongs to a group of northern poems which had their origin between 1440 and 1480, and were avowed imitations of Chaucer. The poem stands none of the tests for early fifteenth century Scots. In it are found "certain French words used by Scottish writers only after 1440. It has the plural form *quhilkis*, the distinguishing adjective *ane* before words beginning with a consonant, the preterite and preterite participle in *yt* or *it*, and the pronouns *thaire* and *thame*. The verb *to do* is used in the emphatic conjugation.[5] The poem also shews traces of *The Court of Love*, as is evident from the use of such words and phrases as *balas*, *smaragdyne*, *lufis dance*. There are also "affinities in thought, framework, and diction," and these are stated in detail. They amount to "proof of the proposition that the Scottish author had *The Court of Love* in his view when composing *The Kingis Quair*."[6]

The autobiographical element is as little consistent with James's authorship as are the language and literary substance of the poem. The poet asserts that he set sail in March (stanzas xx, cxci). The statement is not accurate, as Fleming of Cumbernauld who accompanied the prince to the port of embarkation was killed in the middle of February, 1406. Indeed, according to reasonable inference from English accounts of James's capture, he was probably made prisoner late in February or early in March. As the statement is inaccurate, King James cannot have written the poem which contains it. The poet is further in error as to the age of the captive prince :

> Noght fer passit the state of Innocence
> Bot nere about the nowmer of ȝeris thre.

He was eleven and a half. The history is thus not autobiography, but is borrowed from Wyntoun's *Orygynale Cronykil*, as is shewn by the use of the word *puruait* in stanza xxiii. Although

Mr. Brown does not unduly press the point he naturally describes as prophecy after the event the lines :

> And thus this flouris, I can seye no more,
> So hertly has unto my help attendit,
> That from the deth hir man sche has defendit.

Another point he does press. The poet seems to know only one prison, and writes as if the prince whom he personates had for eighteen years been confined in one castle. Now James was moved from the Tower of London to Windsor, and to Nottingham and elsewhere. Yet of these frequent changes the writer of the *Quair* seems to have no knowledge. The marriage of James so far from being a romantic attachment, as the poem everywhere implies, was a common state affair carried through in the usual prosaic fashion.

Much stress is laid by Mr. Brown upon external evidence. He takes his point of departure from an entry on folio 120 of the MS. "Nativitas principis nostri Jacobi quarti anno dñi m^mo^ iiij^c^ lxxij^o^ xvij die mensis marcii, videlicet in festo sancti Pa*tr*icii confesso*ris*. In monasterio sancte crucis prope Edinburgh." This entry must have been written in or after 1488, when James IV. succeeded his murdered father, and before September 1513, when he fell at Flodden. Mr. Brown indeed goes further, and contends that 1488 is the earliest possible date of the MS. itself.

He admits the importance of the title and colophon, but hastens to add that the value of the testimony depends upon the accuracy of anonymous scribes who rightly attribute *five* poems to Chaucer, and who wrongly attribute other *five* to the same poet. The remaining poems in the MS. volume are *The Kingis Quair* and *The Quare of Jelusy*, which latter poem has an imperfect colophon —*Quod Auch*. The testimony of Scottish historians is quoted and commented on. Bower, Boece, Bellenden, Leslie, and George Buchanan are all dismissed. Major is accepted as the sole authority other than the MS. for ascribing to James any poems in the vernacular. But Major's statement is subjected to rigorous examination and is minimised because he wrote eighty years or more after the death of King James. Major mentions, besides the "artificiosum libellum de regina," two vernacular poems *Yas Sen* and *At Beltayn*. Mr. Brown identifies *At Beltayn* with

Peblis to the Play, which opens with the words "At Beltayn," and as this last poem is now generally believed to be much later in date than 1437 he pronounces Major's testimony to *The Kingis Quair* to be almost "worthless at best."

Not only is historical testimony narrowed to Major, and Major thus discredited, but a fresh argument is based upon the silence of William Dunbar in his *Lament for the Makaris*, of Sir David Lyndsay in his *Testament and Complaynt of the Papyngo*, where eight poets are named ;[7] and of King James VI. in his *Reulis and Cautelis*, for he never alludes to the poetic performances of his royal ancestor.

The reference to Lyndsay is singularly unfortunate. In *The Testament and Complaynt of the Papyngo* Lyndsay implies that James was a poet, as is evident from the stanza devoted to him in the *Second Epistyl of the Papyngo, directit to her Brethir of Courte :*

> Kyng James the First, the patroun of prudence,
> Gem of ingyne and peirll of polycie,
> Well of Justice, and flude of eloquence,
> Quhose vertew doith transcende my fantasie,
> For tyll discryve ; 3it, quhen he stude moste hie,
> Be fals exhorbitant conspiratioun
> That prudent Prince was pieteouslie put doun.
> (Laing's Ed., vol. i., p. 77.)

He even knows the *Quair* and quotes from it in the same Epistyl :

> And spairis nocht the Prince more than the paige,

which is surely a reminiscence of *K. Q.* st. ix. ll. 4, 5 :

> Is non estate nor age
> Ensured more the prynce than the page.

Lyndsay's allusion indeed suggests an amendment of the text. (Vid. note on *K. Q. in loco.*)

This novel theory made few converts. The most notable is Professor Hume Brown, if he may be called a convert, for he thinks that Mr. Brown has reached his conclusion "on probably insufficient grounds."[8] Professor J. H. Millar, in *A Literary History of Scotland*,[9] provisionally accepts the traditional view but he keeps an open mind : "The anti-Jacobites have failed to prove their negative and to upset the testimony of tradition." Professor Gregory Smith, who does not discuss the arguments, is very emphatically on the side of tradition. "A recent attempt to

place the text later than *The Court of Love* has led to a careful sifting of all the evidence, actual and circumstantial, with the result that the traditional view has been established more firmly. There is no reason to doubt that the story was written by James himself."[10]

Painstaking critics of the new theory have been numerous. Dr. A. H. Millar wrote a number of interesting letters in *The Athenæum* in 1896 after the publication of Mr. Brown's book, and followed these up in December, 1899, by a special article on the *MS. of the Quair*. Mr. R. S. Rait, M.A., of New College, Oxford, gave a detailed examination of it in a pamphlet;[11] Mr. T. F. Henderson discussed it fully,[12] and M. Jules J. Jusserand, who has also written a delightful little volume which he calls *The Romance of a King's Life*, has expanded an *Athenæum* letter[13] into a full and detailed examination—*Jacques Ier d'Écosse fut-il Poète?*[14]

As M. Jusserand is most elaborate, and is as confident as any, in his reply to the *New Criticism*, he is entitled to precedence in any statement of the case for the King's authorship. He agrees with all who have considered the MS. that it was copied by Scottish scribes at some date during the second half of the fifteenth century. As the note about James Fourth's birthday, on folio 120, is in the same handwriting as that of the poem immediately preceding, this portion must have been copied in or after 1488, and before Flodden.

In ascriptions of authorship the writers of the MS. are as often right as wrong, and they err, where error is venial and common, in attributing to Chaucer poems of his scholars. Being Scottish scribes they are more likely to be right about a poem of Scottish origin, especially when the reputed author is a King. The testimony of the MS. itself is not single but double, for there are two scribes, one of whom wrote the title and as far as stanza clxxvii., the other the remainder including the colophon. M. Jusserand further follows Dr. A. H. Millar in the happy conjecture that one of the inscriptions in the MS.—liber Henrici dñi Sinclair—refers to Henry, Lord Sinclair, who came to the title in 1488 and who fell on Flodden Field.* A signature on

* This Henry, Lord Sinclair, was a patron of literary men and had a keen interest in poetry. He is expressly mentioned by Gavin Douglas in the preface

folio 231 "Elizabeth Sinclar with my" is possibly the handwriting of Elizabeth Keith who married William, Lord Sinclair, Henry's son, and this lady was a great-grand-daughter of James I. (M. Jusserand does not note the fact that the lady's husband was a descendant of the Earl of Orkney who was James's guardian at the time of his capture.) The argument from the silence of Bower, Boece, and Lyndsay M. Jusserand meets with great effectiveness by presenting in Charles d'Orléans an exact parallel to James I. Like James, Charles d'Orléans was an English prisoner of war, and, though he was the greatest French poet of the fifteenth century, yet, after his death in 1465, save for a vague allusion by Martin Lefranc to "the book of the good Duke of Orléans," the silence of French poets and historians about his literary merits is complete. "All works which give lists of French poets exclude him, and even Louis XII., who loved literature and wrote verses, took no trouble to rescue from oblivion the works of the poet whose son he was." All the world remained in ignorance of the poetry of Charles until, in the eighteenth century,

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and in the epilogue to his translation of the *Aeneid* as the friend and kinsman at whose suggestion he undertook the work which he dedicates to him :

> And at ye knaw at quhais instaunce I tuik
> For to translait this mast excellent buik,
> I mene Virgilis volume maist excellent,
> Set this my werk full feble be of rent,
> At the request of ane lord of renowne,
> Of ancistry noble and illuster barowne,
> Fader of bukis, protectour to science and lare,
> My speciall gude lord, Henry Lord Sanct Clair,
> Quhilk with grete instance diuers tymes seir,
> Prayit me translait Virgill or Omeir,
> Quhais plesour suithlie as I wnderstuid,
> As neir coniunt to his lordschip in bluid,
> So that me thocht his requeist ane command,
> Half disparit this wark I tuik on hand,
> Nocht fullie grantand, nor anis sayand ȝe,
> Bot onelie to assay quhow it mycht be.
>
> (Small's Douglas, vol. ii., p. 5.)

He is probably the unnamed lord to whom Henryson refers in the prologue to his *Fabillis*, saying that his translation is undertaken

> Nocht of my self for vane presumptioun,
> But be requeist and Precept of ane Lord,
> Of quhome the name it neidis not record.
>
> (S. T. S. Ed., vol. ii., p. 4, ll. 1-5.)

Abbé Claude Sallier disinterred his works which had been buried in the Royal Library. René of Anjou, another royal poet, had a similar fate. His poems have only been printed within the present generation. Silence in all these cases has a very simple explanation. These poets were princes by condition, not poets merely as others were, and the personal note which gives an added charm to their work for modern readers made them restrict knowledge of their verse to a few intimate friends. M. Jusserand emphatically repudiates Mr. Brown's interpretation of Bower and of Major. Bower, indeed, does not mention the *Quair*. It would have been surprising if he had known of its existence. He does speak however of James's literary labour, "operi artis literatoriae complacenti instabat curae." The words imply writing both in verse and prose. Major, who expressly describes the *Quair* and indicates its contents, is a critical writer. He bases his history wherever he can upon writers who were contemporary with events, and he does this with James I. Besides, while he attributes to the King a poem *At Beltayn* he nowhere says that *At Beltayn* is *Peblis to the Play*. Beltayn was a popular May festival and many poems may have opened with the words "At Beltayn." Major shews his critical spirit by censure of a false quantity in the Latin couplet attributed to James. Later historians M. Jusserand dismisses as but echoes of Major. Buchanan he lays stress upon: "Latin verses rude, as was then the fashion, he poured forth as occasion demanded. Some poems written by him in English are still extant: in these excellence of talent shines forth, but perhaps a more refined moral substance might be demanded."[15] Bale's testimony, already quoted, is singularly explicit.[16]

M. Jusserand gives also a detailed reply to arguments based upon the language of the poem. He thinks it more than probable that a Scottish boy in his twelfth year, who was attended throughout his captivity by Scottish servants, might well maintain such familiarity with Scottish speech as would account for the predominant element in the poet's dialect. English influence from reading and conversation would modify the native Scottish tongue, and the product as we find it in the *Quair* is exactly what a reader might look for. Occasional special forms can hardly be reasoned from as they may be scribal errors, not the language of the poet. Certain

manifest errors as well as certain corrections by scribes are to be found in the MS., and in view of these no one can say that there is in the MS. an actual text of the poem as it left the pen of King James. Yet when Mr. Brown presses linguistic details he presses them unwarrantably. The use of *ane* before a noun beginning with a consonant is rare.[17] The usage besides is found in Wyntoun and Barbour[18] who wrote earlier than James. The only special French words noted by Mr. Brown occur in poems earlier than 1440. *Balas* is in the *Romance of the Rose*, *smaragdyne* (emerald), applied to eyes, finds a parallel in Dante and is not merely a quaint conceit borrowed from *The Court of Love*. Indeed *The Court of Love* is so generally accepted as a later work than the *Quair* can possibly be, that argument on this head is scarcely necessary. Apparent borrowings are often simply kindred poetic ideas in which neither poet has any right of property.

The rejection of the autobiographical implications M. Jusserand subjects to detailed examination. He matches the errors about the poet's age and date of embarkation, if they be errors, which he does not admit, by similar mistakes about their own careers made by Victor Hugo and Napoleon I. The poem discloses tender devotion to his Queen on the part of King James, and although Mr. Brown is bold enough incidentally to question this and to make the marriage a mere state arrangement, M. Jusserand has no difficulty in shewing, as the biographical sketch has probably made plain, that the instructions to the English Commissioners imply a known attachment, and also that testimony as to the King's deep affection for his wife is to be had. He endeavours also to justify the statement of Wyntoun with respect to James's capture on Palm Sunday, 1405.[19]

Mr. Rait, whose essay was in print[20] before M. Jusserand's article appeared, follows the same line of argument. He is in general more detailed and he has several pleas of his own. He disposes of the argument from the silence of Dunbar, Lyndsay, and James VI., in a wholly different fashion by shewing what acceptance of it implies, and by shewing also that in the case of James VI. there was knowledge of his ancestor's poetic achievement.

The implications of the argument from silence are these :—
"1. That Dunbar, a contemporary of Major, was ignorant of the

tradition that led Major to write as he did. 2. That Dunbar had never seen the *Scotichronicon*, nor Major, nor Boece, nor Bellenden; and not only that James VI. had never seen the *Scotichronicon*, Major, Boece, Bellenden, and in addition Lesley, but that he was likewise ignorant of the work of his own tutor, George Buchanan." James VI. did know that James I. was a poet: the Bishop of Winchester mentions him among royal authors in his preface to the works of James VI.[21] Some of the autobiographical detail as to the date of sailing for France and the weather is to be regarded as mere poetic embellishment, and the supposed prophecy after the event is but "the extravagance of a lover." Mr. Rait concurs with M. Jusserand in contesting the position that James could not have written such Scots as is to be found in the poem. He asserts that as "quhilkis" occurs but once, and as the preterite and preterite participle are frequently, but not always, in *yt* and *it*, and as "ane" occurs only once before a normal consonant (stanza clx.) while it is frequent in Henryson in this position, the language of the *Quair* is strictly the language of a period of transition between the language of Wyntoun and that of the later fifteenth century poets. It is transitional also in the use of "do" as emphatic. In the *Quair* and *The Court of Love* both poets have borrowed from Lydgate's *Temple of Glas;* indeed in Professor Skeat's opinion, the poet of *The Court of Love* probably borrowed from the *Quair*. The author of the *Quair* in forms of words like "cowardye" and "percing," and in his use of the final *e* is far nearer Chaucer than is the poet of *The Court of Love*, as he is likewise in the absence of overflow from one stanza to another. This last trait is markedly Chaucerian, and that it is not found in *The Court of Love* is a tolerably convincing proof that it is the later poem of the two.

Dr. A. H. Millar's argument turns upon the ownership of the MS. David Laing (*Bannatyne Miscell.*, vol. ii., p. 162) had inferred from a coat-of-arms on folio 118 that the book had at one time belonged "to some branch of the Sinclairs, Earls of Caithness." Dr. Millar proves that the arms, part of the illumination of the MS., were borne by Henry, Lord Sinclair, in 1488. He agrees with Dr. George Neilson in believing that the MS. was written, or at least illuminated, by James Graye,* vicar of Hailes, and as

* See Appendix C.—Scribes of the *Kingis Quair* and of the *Quare of Jelusy*.

Lord Sinclair was married to Margaret Hepburn, daughter of Adam, second Lord Hailes, the scribe had a certain personal relation to his patron. Lord Sinclair was of near kin to the Scottish royal family. His grandmother was a sister of James I. and his aunt was the wife of a brother of James III. To the Sinclairs the poem was a "precious literary heirloom," and they were not likely to be imposed upon by a poem forged fifty years after the death of James I. Dr. Millar, accordingly, gives this account of the transcription of the *Kingis Quair*. Lord Sinclair desired to have a copy of the poem of his granduncle, the original of which was in the possession of the King. He arranged that the copy should be made by Graye, "an old acquaintance of Lady Sinclair," and then secretary to the Archbishop of St. Andrews, who was no less a personage than the Duke of Ross, brother of James IV. Graye had beside him a volume with a number of poems by Chaucer and other poets, and with blank leaves. On these he transcribed the *Kingis Quair* and decorated the book with the arms of his patron.

If regard is had merely to Mr. Brown's pleas and the answers made to them it can scarcely be disputed that he has in the main the worst of the argument. Certainly he has not proved his case. His critics have made much of theirs, although in M. Jusserand's contention there are some slips. It is highly probable, for example, that Major's *At Beltayn* is *Peblis to the Play*, and, although it may be wild conjecture, it is possible that the unintelligible *Yas Sen* is a Parisian printer's bungling abbreviation of "*Wes* nevir in Scotland hard nor *sene*," the opening line of *Christis Kirk on the Grene*. Buchanan's statement cannot refer to the *Quair*, which certainly has a sound moral substance as well as finished poetic form. It probably refers to the other poems traditionally ascribed to James I. In several respects defenders of the royal authorship might have made more of their argument. The King's letters,[22] for example, shew now familiar he was with the northern tongue when he composed or dictated, or even understood such drafts as the several sections of the Register House document seem to be. The Croydon letter is emphatically Scottish.

If we consider the external evidence, as M. Jusserand, Mr. Rait, and Dr. Millar state it, it is undeniable that testimony very much weaker has been held sufficient to vouch for the authorship of

scores of ancient and medieval poems. Dr. Millar's statement, clear and strong as it is, involves certain assumptions, and in speaking of "a forged poem" he overlooks the frequent use of autobiography as a literary device. From the *Epistles* of Ovid to *Robinson Crusoe* and *Rabbi Ben Ezra* the method is common, and no one is deceived by art of the kind except a prosaic person like a scribe. There is no proof whatever that the MS. of the *Kingis Quair* was in the possession of James IV. The coat of arms on folio 118 is at the close of *Troilus*, not among the Scottish poems. Henry, Lord Sinclair, a lover of poetry, might be interested in a poem about his royal kinsman as well as in one by him. That he ever saw the colophon is by no means certain. The value of the colophon depends entirely upon the second scribe's authority. If he had his patron's sanction his testimony could scarcely be invalidated, for this copy was almost certainly made from an original poem written in a difficult hand, as was the original of *Lancelot of the Laik*. Internal evidence is difficult to estimate, for interpretations of literary features are apt to be subjective. Indeed a certain personal element in criticism is almost inevitable in the study of such a poem. Few are the loyal Scots who would not gladly believe that King James I., one of the most brilliant and capable sovereigns of a gifted but hapless line, did write the artistic little book about Queen Joan as well as all the other poems with which he has been credited. Apart from new positive external evidence the question cannot be absolutely determined. Yet the authenticity is very doubtful, and there are reasons of weight which Mr. Brown has overlooked, while he has scarcely pressed sufficiently his most important plea. This his critics have not sought to answer, because they regard the fact upon which it is based as part of the ornament of the poem. This fact is the poet's manifest ignoring of any prison but one. Now this feature is only one of a group of singular omissions which give a special character to the poem as in substance a passage of autobiography. But before discussion of these negative characteristics certain features of the MS. demand attention.

The title and the colophon yield something more than has been taken out of them. King James is in the title called First, and in the colophon Primus. He must, therefore, have been dead before

any such addition could have been made to his name. The title, besides, makes three statements. The *Quair* was "callit the kingis quair"; it was composed by the King; it was "maid quhen his Maiestie wes in England." With reference to the title M. Jusserand has fallen into one error, slight, indeed, but of some consequence. The title is not in the handwriting of the first scribe of the poem. It is not in the handwriting of any of the scribes of the MS. volume, and all experts are agreed that it is later in date. The authority of the testimony is therefore sensibly diminished, and the entry itself is a palpable imitation of the statement on folio 225 recto of the *Quare of Jelusy* "Here efter followis the trety in the reprefe of Ielousye." That the poem was "callit the kingis quair" is known only from this entry. No later writer, from Major onward, so refers to it until Tytler gave the little book to the world by its long forgotten name. The statement that the king wrote the poem in England is also noteworthy, as bearing upon the value of the scribe's testimony. The King was a captive in England almost exactly eighteen years, and the poet knows this and mentions it in stanza xxv. 6:

> Nere by the space of ȝeris twiēs nyne.

His captivity is therefore at an end when he writes. Nor is this all. The poem implies a considerable period of freedom and good fortune after the time of seclusion.

> Among thir thoughtis rolling to and fro
> Fell me to mynd of my fortune and vre;
> In tender ȝouth how sche was first my fo,
> And eft my frende, and how I gat recure
> Off my distresse, and all myn auenture
> I gan oure-hayle.

The captive's liberation, or "larges" is thus not recent. There is a backward look to the time when he was received into favour. This was actually determined when the Scotrish Commissioners made the proposal of marriage in September, 1423. Queen Joan's care of her husband began on S. Valentine's Eve, 1424. The concluding portion of the poem gives the same impression as the opening. In stanza clxxxvii. we have a hint of it.

> And thus this flouris I can seye no more,
> So hertly has vnto my help attendit,
> That from the deth hir man sche has defendit.

Even more emphatic is stanza cxcii. 5-7:

> And syne throu long and trew contynuance
> Of trayst faith in Luve and trew servise,
> I cumin am, and forthir in this wise.

Stanza xxiii. implies a backward glance of years, for the King's marriage is alluded to as something which has long been a part of experience:

> Vawortiy, la, but onely of hir grace,
> In luifis pak, that esy is and sure,
> In guerdoun fair of all my luifis space,
> Sone hath me mak, for humble treasure.
> And thus befell my blisfull auenture,
> In youth of luife, that now, from day to day,
> Flourith ay newe, and yit forthir, I say.

One slight touch in stanza clii. 3 may be a scribal error, on the other hand it may be a lapse from assumed autobiography: "'I sall, Madame,' quod he."

The last stanza of the poem is very strange if it were written by James I. in England in 1423 or 1424. The poet calls Gower and Chaucer his "masteris dere." Yet practically he owes not very much to Gower, and great as is his debt to Chaucer it is not more than to Lydgate who was alive for many years after 1424. Lydgate's *Temple of Glas* is one of the main sources of the *Quair*. A poet prince who had Lydgate in prison, and who could not be ignorant of the fact that Lydgate was alive, could, in such a connection, hardly ignore him, when he was commending others as his poetic teachers. A later poet might readily be silent because there was frequent confounding of the work of Chaucer and Lydgate. *The Complaint of the Black Knight* is one of the poems in the same MS. as the *Quair*, and the colophon runs "Here endeth the making and disporte of Chaucer."[2] If it could be shown that the poet knew and used lines and phrases from Lydgate's "The Tragedies gathered by John Bochas" then he could not possibly have written the *Quair* in 1424. For Lydgate's translation of Boccaccio's *De Casibus* was probably made for Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester, at some time between 1430 and 1438.[3] But proof of this kind is not available. Coincidences are not of phrase or line more. Our poet is even more manifestly a scholar of Lydgate than of Chaucer, and one of the difficulties in dealing with the

text, in so far as it demands metrical amendment, is due to this fact. Musical as the verse often is, it is unequal, and some of its inequality and occasional harshness may spring from this following of Lydgate rather than Chaucer.

A closer examination of the substance, both in its negative and positive aspects, will shew how difficult it is to reconcile it with the history and experience of the young King of Scotland. The life of James, from his childhood onwards, had many moving incidents, and it had a picturesque setting at successive points. The writer of the poem is a poet of genuine power with an eye for the outward world as well as a retentive memory stored with thoughts and phrases from older poets. Yet he has used in a concrete fashion very little of the prince's experience. The treatment of the embarkation, capture, and imprisonment, is meagre, and often blurred and indistinct in outline. The absence of the poet's name and rank may be explicable on the ground of reticence. But the bare generalities in the narrative of his seizure at sea, and of his confinement in England, and the absence of all reference to the tracts of time when he was not a close prisoner at all but a guest at the Court of the King of England or in the train of the Queen, the complete omission of allusion to military service, the lack of any illustration or reflection from it, all these features make us hesitate to assign the poem to a young man with a keen interest in war. Nor do we find any indication of his familiarity with a Court. His interviews with Venus and Minerva are uncoloured by this, and throughout the poem there is little or nothing to suggest that the writer is a young king who has moved among royal personages and who has kingly instincts. One line (stanza lxxxv. 3) emphasises still more strongly this remarkable lack of princely feeling and interest:

Here bene the princis, faucht the grete batailis.[25]

The personal element is at its best in the picture of the maiden as she is seen from the captive's keep. Yet the evident modelling of this portion upon *The Knight's Tale*, and the minuteness and elaboration in the description of the beloved's dress and jewellery suggest a heart-whole conscious artist rather than an ardent lover on the eve of his marriage. The kind of lover's humility which

appears in the language of the poet, now in his own person and again in the person of Venus, is conventional and inappropriate, and is scarcely reconcilable with the spirit of any royal Stuart in Scottish history.

If on some of these points we compare with the *Quair* the poems of Charles d'Orléans, so long the fellow prisoner of James in England, we find that Charles discloses himself quite frankly. In his *Pleine de la Prison* he says:

> Lors Jeunesse si hucha le portier,
> Et lui a dit: J'ay cy un estrangier,
> Avecques moy entrer nous fault léans;
> On l'appelle Charles, duc d'Orléans.[26]

In the same poem he has other references to his personality and to his rank.[27] Charles alludes to individual persons, and places, and situations, and thus compels recognition of himself as a royal personage. He hates England. He desires peace. He longs to return to France.[28] Only the *language* of the *Quair* reveals that the writer is a native of Scotland. Not a phrase or sentiment recalls the land or associations of his birth. If we except stanza cxxi., which is general in character, there is but one reference to any amusement in the *Quair*. It is to Chess in clxviii., and this is followed up in clxix. In the poem of Charles are many allusions to this game,[29] to tennis[30] and to fencing[31] and to heraldry.[32] His poems, looked at as a whole, in spirit, colouring, mood, and illustrative material betray a courtly writer. Not one reader of the *Kingis Quair* in a hundred, apart from external testimony, would suppose that a high-spirited prince was the author.

The positive indications of a writer of a different rank are numerous and striking. Throughout, save in the love passages, the poem is didactic in tone. We hear the voice of a preacher, not of a prince. Emphatically didactic are the proem, especially in stanzas i.-ix., the self-questioning in xi. and xii., and the invocation in stanzas xiv. and xv. The larger portion of the vision, borrowed from *The Temple of Glas*—stanzas lxxiv-clvii.—is in the same vein, while the speech of Venus—cv.-cx.—is only surpassed in this respect by Minerva—cxxix.-cxxxviii.—where the sound moral teaching surprises not so much by its excellence as

by its utter inappropriateness to the mood of a brave prince on the eve of his marriage. It is entirely appropriate to a poet preacher desirous of making an impression upon free-living Scottish courtiers. The quotation from *Ecclesiastes* seems to be due to first-hand knowledge of Scripture rather than to recollection of Chaucer. The brief theological disquisition—cxlvi.-cxlix.—if it stood alone, reminiscent as it is of Chaucer's reflections in *Troilus and Criseyde* and the *Nonne Prestes Tale*, would not of itself count for much ; but, as it falls in with other matter in the same spirit, it points to a teacher of some kind as the poet. Other passages indicate familiarity with Scriptural events and teaching. The great light and the voice in stanza lxxiv. recall the conversion of S. Paul. The reference to Him "that corner-stone and ground is of the wall"—cxxx.—is Scriptural, as is the counsel "groundith thy werk, therefore, upon the stone" (cxxxi.), and Scriptural, too, is the conception of "wolfis hertis in lambis likenesse" (cxxxvi. 3). Equally significant is the contrast between the spirit and the flesh in clxxiii. when the flesh troubles the spirit waking and sleeping. Of less consequence, but still pointing to the same conclusion, are such indications as we find in the use of the phrase "vnsekir warldis appetitis" (cvi. 5), in the very frequent use of the word "penance," in the ringing of the bell to "matyns" (xi. 3), in making the sign of the Cross (xiii. 7), and in the thrice-repeated reference to benefit of the soul.[33]

The work is that of a poet thinking of readers, rather than of a king eager to please his bride, as is evident from the closing stanzas. The reader is entreated to have patience with the defects of the little treatise (cxciv). The writer has doubts about the reception of his work when it comes to "the presence" (cxcv.). A lover's humility will lead to many strange words and deeds, but a king's lovemaking is little likely to lead to the kind of humbleness which appears in stanzas cxciv., cxcv. The two closing strophes return to the didactic mood, which prevails so strongly throughout.

As the language is deliberately artificial, and is thus a Lowland Scots contaminated with English Midland forms and other variants, no solid argument for or against James's authorship can be based upon it. Such a product for purposes of expression was equally

possible to King James and to a later writer. The poem implies that it is the work of a successful lover and happy husband who can be none other than King James I. of Scotland. The book of *Ecclesiastes* implies that it is the work of King Solomon; and *Eikon Basilike* appeals to the world as a series of meditations of Charles I. That Solomon was not the author of *Ecclesiastes* is as certain as anything in history can be. That Charles I. wrote *Eikon Basilike* is highly improbable, and that James I. wrote the *Kingis Quair* is very doubtful. Imagination performs strange feats. In reasoning, therefore, from features of a work of imagination it is easy to accept as fact what is designed only to be fancy, and to look for something which is not there because the writer's individuality led him to ignore it. Nevertheless, with every allowance for this, the verdict must be given, hesitatingly perhaps, yet given against tradition.

So much old poetry has perished, and so many poets on Dunbar's Scottish roll of fame have left no work which can now be recovered, that it may seem idle to speculate as to a probable author. Nevertheless there are poetic affinities which cannot be ignored, and they point to a possible poet who has left work which can be compared both in matter and form with the poem ascribed to King James. Examination of this will come more appropriately in connection with a discussion of the relation of the *Kingis Quair* to earlier and later poetry. In any event the writer must have been a friend of the royal house and a prudent friend who wished to say nothing against England. For there is an entire absence of Wyntoun's national spirit:

> It is of Inglis natioune
> The common kend conditioune
> Off Trewis the wertew to forȝett,
> Quhen thai will them for wynning set;
> And rekles of gud faith to be,
> Quhare thai can thair auantage se;
> Thare may na bond be made sa ferm
> Than thai can mak thare will thare term.

The *Quair* in its autobiographical aspect may be compared with the far inferior lament for the death of the Dauphiness, Princess Margaret, which is entitled *Lamentatio Domini Dalphini Franciae pro Morte Uxoris suae, dictae Margaretae.* So greatly daring are poets.

III

THE QUAIR AND EARLIER AND LATER POETRY

In the last stanza of his work the poet of the *Quair* recommends his book to the scions or "ympis[1] of his maisteris dere" Gower and Chaucer, who, as supremely excellent poets adorned with the laurel crown, sat on the steps of eloquence. It is natural, therefore, to ask what is his debt to these poets and what to others. Certainly he owns no Scottish master, although it is possible that the writer, if he were other than King James, found a hint for the biography in Wyntoun,[2] as Mr. Brown supposes.[3] It will be necessary also to inquire if the poem has any Scottish affinities, and if it has in any way influenced later Scottish poetry.

The debt to Gower, as Dr. Skeat has pointed out,[4] is to be found in spirit and tone rather than in substance or in diction, for the *Quair* is certainly after the manner of Gower in its prevailing didactic strain and its frequent moralising. Yet Gower's *Confessio Amantis* did supply some details. The most notable single passage parallel to the thought of the *Quair* is to be found in the Prologue (560-571):

> For every worldes thing is vein
> And evere goth the whiel aboute
> And evere stant a man in doute,
> Fortune stant no while stille
> So hath ther no man al his wille.
> Als fer as evere a man may knowe
> Ther lasteth nothing but a throwe;
> The world stant evere upon debat,
> So may be seker non astat
> Now hier now ther, now to now fro,
> Now up now doun this world goth so
> And evere hath don and evere schal.[5]

As the story of Progne, Philomela, and Tereus is in the *Legend of Good Women* and in the *Temple of Glas* as well as in Book V. 555-591 of the *Confessio Amantis*, no argument can be based on this. The use of "strang"[6] in the sense of "hard to bear" has a parallel in Book V. 7377-8:

> Strong thing it is to soffre wrong
> And suffre schame is more strong.

In marked contrast to this slight borrowing from Gower are the volume and variety of the debt to Chaucer. The Scottish poet is steeped in Chaucer.[1] He has, indeed, none of Chaucer's mirth, but he has, in some portions of his work, a little of Chaucer's cheerfulness, as in the stanzas which describe the birds before and immediately after he sees his mistress,[2] and when the dove comes with the message and the flowers in her bill.[3] He has little of Chaucer's narrative skill, but he has much of Chaucer's love of nature and joy in gracious womanhood. He shews with the substance of Chaucer's poetry and with the *ipsissima verba* a familiarity which could only have come from long and loving study. The details of this familiarity are given in the *Notes*, but the significance of the borrowings can only be apprehended by grouping them and looking at them as a whole.

The Deth of Blaunche the Duchesse gave the hint for the poet's sleeplessness and for his use of a book to beguile the tedium of the weary hours. Chaucer read in Ovid[4] the tale of Ceyx and Alcyone as our poet reads Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosophiae*. (If the later poet had read Boethius with more care he would have avoided the blunder about Tantalus in stanza lxx.) Both poets eventually fall asleep and dream, but the later poet makes a characteristic variation. He does not, like Chaucer, fall asleep over his book. The book rouses him, he is deeply interested and begins to write his poetic autobiography as soon as he has left his couch at the matin bell. He falls asleep from grief and weariness after his mistress has left the garden. From the *Book of the Duchess* comes also the illustration of the game of chess in stanzas clxviii. and clxix., but the *Quair* at this point is tame indeed beside the moving passage which gave the hint. In Chaucer, Fortune is the lover's opponent, not a goddess called upon to help the player.

> Atte ches with me she gan to pleye:
> With hir false draughtes dyvers
> She stal on me, and took my fers;
> And whan I saw my fers aweye,
> Allas! I couthe no lenger pleye,
> But seyde, 'Far-wel, swete, y-wys!
> And far-wel al that ever ther is!'
> Ther-with Fortune seyde, 'Chek heer!'
> And 'Mate!' in the myd poynt of the medden.

With a poune erraunt, allas !
Ful craftier to pley she was
Than Athalus that made the game
First of the ches, so was his name.[11]

Here the poet found reference to Tantalus : "I have more sorwe than Tantale."[12] *The Parlement of Foules* is also a dream induced by reading Cicero's *Somnium Scipionis*. Parallel thoughts, if not borrowings, are to be found in the description of the little fishes with red fins and bright scales, swimming in the river, and in the welcome to summer :

Now welcom, somer, with thy sunne softe,
That hast this wintres weders overshake
And driven awey the longe nightes blake.[13]

The *Hous of Fame*, which is also a dream, probably suggested the ascent of the poet to the heavenly regions, but the only detail which has passed to the later poem is that of the palace with crystal stones.[14] A few verbal similarities with the *Legend of Good Women* may be noted, but they are so few and so slight that the poet may not have read the *Legend* at all. Very different is it with *Troilus and Criseyde*. From this poem come portions of the imagery, not a few lines and phrases, and something of the poetic manner of the *Quair*. From *Troilus* are taken hints for the presentation of the goddess Fortune,[15] part of the reasoning on Free Will and Predestination,[16] and the image of a rudderless boat[17] and of a boat among tempestuous waves,[18] as well as the conception of a ruby shaped like a heart.[19] The most curious borrowing of all is of Tisiphone as a Muse. Chaucer, with a delightful and arbitrary humour, had departed from the opening of his original, *Il Filostrato* of Boccaccio. The Italian poet had invoked his mistress Fiammetta and not Jove or Apollo or the Muses, but Chaucer called upon a Fury instead.[20] Examples of verbal borrowings are to be found in "lovis daunce,"[21] "my honour sauf,"[22] and in the line "Bewailing in his chambre thus allone."[23]

Of the *Canterbury Tales* the *Knight's Tale* gives the largest contribution. For the poet of the *Quair* has fashioned his picture of the prisoner's condition, his experience on the sight of his mistress walking in a garden, his language and state of mind, upon what the older poet has given in his story of Palamon and Arcite.[24]

The tale of Constance supplies a hint for the record in the stars of every man's destiny :

> For in the sterres, clerer than is glas,
> Is written, God woot, whoso koude it rede,
> The deth of every man withouten drede.[25]

Here and elsewhere, especially in the *Monk's Tale*, he found matter for his conception of Fortune and her wheel.[26] Many slight touches there are from other Canterbury Tales. "The wyly Fox the wedows Inemye" recalls the *Nun Priest's Tale*.[27] "A twenty deuill way" is found many times in Chaucer.[28] In the *Monk's Tale* he found "Fortune was first friend and sitthe foo"[29]; and there too, in the description of Seneca, "For of moralitee he was the flour," he had at least a suggestion for his portrait of Boethius.[30]

The *Quair* is wholly written in the *Troilus* stanza, and even when brief lyrics are introduced as in the bird's song (xxxiv.), the prayer to Venus (lii.), the petition to Venus (xcix.–ciii.), and the poetic message brought by the dove, which does not occupy the whole of stanza clxxix., there is no metrical variety. Looking to the nature of his subject the poet was content to use the measure in which had been told the tale of love unfortunate to tell a story of love triumphant. It had been employed for the story of Grisildis and the story of Constance, as well as for the Tale of the Prioress and the *Parlement of Foules*. It had also been used frequently by Lydgate and his fellow English Chaucerians.

In poetic manner nothing is more marked in the *Quair* than the frequent use of interrogation. Many stanzas are more or less made up of a rapid series of questions. This is a feature of *Troilus*[31] as well as of other portions of Chaucer's work. Throughout, the disciple in this mannerism goes far beyond his master, although here, too, he follows him in the use of interjected phrases to complete the verse. Such padding is even more frequent in the verse of the master to whom the poet of the *Quair* does not allude. Considerable as the debt to Chaucer is, there is an equal debt to Lydgate. The nature and extent of this were first pointed out by Professor Schick in 1891, when he published

the *Temple of Glas* for the E.E.T.S.[32] It is manifest in many portions of the substance of the *Quair* and in many slight details both of illustration and expression. Happily or unhappily it is a case of a better poet borrowing from an inferior, and in some points the later poet has improved upon his original. The opening of the *Quair*, for example, far more closely resembles Lydgate's poem than any of the poems of Chaucer already mentioned. No one can dispute the superiority of the disciple's work.

> For thouȝt, constreint, and greuous heuines,
> For pensifhede, and for heiȝ distres,
> To bed I went nov þis oþir nyȝt,
> Whan þat Lucina wiþ hir pale liȝt
> Was Ioyned last wiþ Phebus in aquarie,
> Amyd decembre, when of Ianuarie
> Ther be kalendes of þe nwe yere,
> And derk Diane, ihorned, noþing clere,
> Had (hid) hir bemys vndir a mysty cloude :
> Wiþin my bed for sore I gan me shroude,
> Al desolate for constreint of my wo,
> The long(e) nyȝt waloing to and fro,
> Til at(te) last, er I gan taken kepe,
> Me did oppresse a sodein dedeli slepe,
> Wiþ—in þe which me þouȝt(e) þat I was
> Rauysshid in spirit in (a) temple of glas.[33]

The main borrowings are to be found in the poet's experience in the heavenly regions, in what he sees in the palaces of Venus and Minerva, and in the speeches of the king and of the goddesses. The classification of the lovers, their petitions, and the condemnation of those who shut up the young in convents against their will, all come from Lydgate.[34] The description of the lady is partly modelled upon Lydgate (ll. 743-763), and the confusion which enrolled Tisiphone among the Muses is probably as much due to the *Temple of Glas* as to *Troilus and Criseyde :*

> I can no ferþer but to Thesiphone
> And to hir sustren forto help(e) me
> That bene goddesses of turment and of peyne.[35]

In the *Quair* the lover has his supreme joy when a white turtle dove brings him a branch of gillyflower ; in the *Temple of Glas* Venus throws into the lady's lap a "branch of hawthorne white and green."[36] Slighter resemblances are to be found in "sonnyssh

here brister than gold were,"[37] in reference to Cupid's arrow of gold,[38] to the bird and the net,[39] and to ink and paper.[40] Many other minor expressions there are, and as a matter of course there is the same kind of address to the "litel rude boke" at the close, when it is sent to "her presence" for whose sake it has been composed.[41]

The debt to Lydgate extends to other poems than the *Temple of Glas*. Verbal correspondences with *The Complaint of the Black Knight* are numerous, but they are for the most part so trifling in character that they cannot necessarily be said to be borrowings. They may simply be coincidences. The *Quare of Jelusy*[42] shews close resemblances, and is without doubt indebted to the *Complaint*. On the other hand, *The Flour of Curtesye* probably supplied some thoughts to the *Kingis Quair*.

> And whyl that I, in my drery payne,
> Sat, and beheld aboute on every tree
> The foules sitten, alway twayne and twayne,
> Than thoughte I thus: 'alas! what may this be,
> That every foul has his libertee
> Frely to chesen after his desyre
> Everich his make thus, fro yeer to yere?[43]

A faint resemblance is also to be found in ll. 260-264 to the *Kingis Quair*, stanza cxliii.

Professor Schick thinks that there are resemblances to Lydgate's *Reson and Sensuallyte*. He does not specify any, writing from memory. Juno, like Fortune, wears a surcote,[44] and Venus has no crown

> Of gold nor stonys on hir hede,
> But she had of roses rede
> Instede thereof a chapelet.[45]

But these trifling resemblances on points so commonplace weigh little on the side of knowledge of this poem by the author of the *Quair*, when one recalls how widely he diverges from Lydgate on the subject of Cupid's bows and arrows. For in the *Quair* Cupid has one bow and three arrows, headed with gold, silver, and steel. In *Reson and Sensuallyte* the god has two bows and ten arrows, five with heads of gold, and five with heads black, and foul, and poison-tipped; and from the elaborately described game of chess the *Quair* has not borrowed the faintest touch.

The same is true of the *Falls of Princes*. Now and again there

is coincidence of phrase, but as there is no trace of influence, where influence might well be looked for—for example in the wealth of the biographical content of the *Falls*, in the Prologue to Book Sixth which treats at length of Fortune, and in the Prologue to Book Seventh which celebrates Fraunceys Petrarch "the laureate poete crowned with laurer"—it seems scarcely disputable that the *Falls* was unknown to the writer of the *Quair*.

A much more important problem arises in connection with two fifteenth-century Scottish poems — *Lancelot of the Laik* and the *Quare of Jelusy*. *Lancelot of the Laik* is a Scots translation of a portion of a French romance. It is a fragment. There is a prologue of 334 lines, and there are two Books with a portion of a third, the whole poem extending to 3486 lines, that is a little more than two and a half times the length of the *Kingis Quair*. The Prologue is entirely the work of the author, and according to Dr. Skeat, who edited the poem more than forty-five years ago for the Early English Text Society, the poet is a very free translator, adapting and adding frequently. There is but one MS. It is in Cambridge University Library, and no author has hitherto been named. Besides Dr. Skeat's there is an edition among the Maitland Club publications.

Points of resemblance in artificiality of language in the *Kingis Quair*, *Lancelot of the Laik* and the *Quare of Jelusy* have long been noted by students of philology. The significance of these resemblances would have been more manifest if the scribe of the *Lancelot* MS. had not adopted an eccentric system of spelling, writing the same word in even more than the usual variety of forms. Whatever be the explanation, there is a closer affinity than a common artificiality of language.

Lancelot of the Laik shews distinct traces of the influence of Chaucer, and it is specially indebted to the *Knight's Tale*. In line 309 Venus is mentioned as "siting hie abuf," just as in the *Squire's Tale* (272-3) we read :

> Now dauncen lusty Venus children deere
> For in the Fyssh hir lady sat ful hye.

In 381-2 the rendering recalls the *Nun's Priest's Tale* (*C.T.B.*, 4111-12) :

> To dremys, Sir, shuld no man have Respeck,
> For thai ben thingis weyn, of non affek.

Line 545, "as tho it was the gyse", is reminiscent of 'To doon obsequies as was tho the gyse" (*K. T.*, 135). In descriptions of fighting there is frequent likeness to the tournament in the *Knight's Tale:* the sounding of trumpets (l. 771), the cleaving of helmets (868), the using of spurs, "In goith the spuris in the stedis syde" (1084); and the resemblance is not merely in language but in spirit.

Longer passages recalling the famous conflict of Palamon and Arcite and their knights are lines 2579-2602, 2960-74, 3291-3300. The last passage will suffice to shew the energy of the poet and how he can answer to the most buoyant mood of his master:

> With all his forss the nerest feld he soght;
> His ful strenth in (to) armys thar he vroght,
> Into the feld rusching to and fro,
> Doune goith the man, doune goith the horse also;
> Sum throw the scheld is persit to the hart,
> Sum throw the hed, he may it not astart,
> His bludy suerd he dreuch, that carwit so
> Fro sum the hed, and sum the arm in two,
> Sum in the feld (y)fellit is in swōn
> Thro sum his suerd goith to the sadill doun.

The debt to Chaucer in substance, as might be expected in a translation, is not extensive. There are, however, a number of points of likeness in poetic manner. The opening of Book II. recalls the opening of Part II. of the *Squire's Tale*, while the occasional references to daybreak (675 and 2579-80)—

> The nycht is gone, vp goith the morow gray
> The brychtē sone so cherith al the day—

are in the spirit of the well-known couplet:

> The busy larke messager of day
> Salueth in hir song the morwe gray.

Points of contact with the *Kingis Quair* are numerous both on the material and the formal side. Substance, style, versification, rhyme, and diction have not a little in common. Comparison of the versification is difficult, as the *Lancelot* is written in heroic couplet, all except one short lyric, which is in the measure of the Envoy to *The Compleynt of Chaucer to his Purse.*

The description of a garden (53-56) recalls *K. Q.* xxxi.-xxxii. :

> And al enweronyt and I-closit
> One sich o wyss that none within supposit
> Fore to be sen with ony vicht thareout
> So dide the levis close it all about.

There is a long dialogue with a bird (83-156) entirely in the mood of the address to the nightingale in the *Kingis Quair* (clvii.-ix.). The lyric already referred to (699-718) has similarities of expression as well as something of the spirit of the *Quair :*

> Qwhat haue y gilt,[46] allace ! or qwhat deseruit ?
> That thus myne hart shal vondit ben and carwit
> One by the suord of double peine and wo ?
> My comfort and my plesans[47] is ago,
> To me is nat that shuld me glaid reseruit.
>
> I curse the tyme of myne Natiuitee,
> Whar in the heuin It ordinyd was for me,[48]
> In all my lyue neuer til haue eese ;
> But for to be example of disese,
> And that apperith that euery vicht may see.
>
> Sen thelke tyme that I had sufficians[49]
> Of age, and chargit thoghtis sufferans,
> Nor neuer I continewite haith o day
> Without the payne of thoghtis hard assay ;
> Thus goith my youth in tempest and penans.
>
> And now my body is in presone broght ;
> But of my wo, that in Regard is noght,
> The wich myne hart felith euer more.
> O deth, allace ! whi hath yow me forbore
> That of remed haith the so long besoght ?

In line 1016 Lancelot, like the hero of the *Quair* (lxiii.), begins an apostrophe to his heart. There is a description of Gawane (2755-8) which in matter and manner at once reminds a reader of *K. Q.* stanza l. :

> In hyme was manhed, curtessy, and trouth,
> Besy travell In knighthed, ay but sleuth,
> Humilyte, gentrice, and [hye] cwrag ;
> In hyme thar was no maner of outrage.

The Black Knight's soliloquy on love (3277-80) is but a chivalrous summary of Venus' admonition to the lover in stanza cix. :

> And well yhow wot that on to her presens
> Til her estat nor til hir excellens
> Thi febilness neuermore is able
> For to attan sche is so honorable.

The poet of *Lancelot* has two styles; one, apparent in the Prologue, is long-winded and tedious, as if the writer could not finish a sentence and had become a meandering bore. The other is vigorous, fairly compact, and spirited. It appears throughout the greater part of the translation. The French original has imposed a limit and compelled a certain degree of precision. The poet of the *Kingis Quair* has the same characteristic. He has two styles. But the prolix manner is rare because the *Troilus* stanza does not lend itself to it. Yet it does appear in stanzas ii.-iv., xxxii.-iv., cliii.-v., and clvi.-ix.

Here as in the *Kingis Quair* there is a fondness for interrogation and occasionally a predilection for a succession of clauses beginning with "sum," "sum," "sum," as at 2550-53:

> Sum for wyning, sum causith was for luf,
> Sum causit was of wordis he and hate.

The same kind of succession of clauses is to be found in the *Kingis Quair* (lxxxvi.-vii.), in the *Quare of Jelusy* (446-9), and in other passages of both poems.

Little similarities of phrase are numerous. In both poems the use of "quhy" as a noun is very common, and "furth" occurs with great frequency, also the elsewhere uncommon words "dedeyne" for "deign" (*K. Q.* clxviii. 3, ll. 240 and 949), "hufing," "waiting" (*K. Q.* clix. 4, l. 1046), and "cowardye" (*K. Q.* lxxxix. 4, ll. 1023, 3278). Both poets refer to Ovid by name (*K. Q.* lxxxv. 7, l. 107); both use the phrase "from the deth" (*K. Q.* clxxxvii. 7, l. 2959); while the poet mentioned at the close of the Prologue[50] is called, like Boethius, "a compilour,"[51] and he is praised like him for "the fresch enditing of his laiting toung."[52]

There is likeness also in certain aspects of the versification; there is the same frequent overflow of meaning from line to line, and there is in *Lancelot* comparatively frequent rhyming of a word with itself, if we reckon among these rhymes words like *accorde* and *recorde*, *dewyss wyss*, *awyss wyss*, *demande commande*, *forme reforme*. Where there is absolutely identical rhyme as in *poynt poynt* (797-8, 3467-8), *hard hard* (1653-4), *3ow 3ow* (1371-2), the poet does not follow Chaucer's example of selecting words similar in sound but different in meaning like *see* (sea) *see* (to see), *hye*

(haste) *hye* (high). This feature appears also in the *Quair* in such rhymes as *fall fall*, *mynd mynd*, and other instances referred to elsewhere. Rhymes with accent on *ing* and *ness* are frequent in all three poems, and they all shew, though rarely, a freedom in rhyme which Chaucer would have scorned. The *Quair* (xxxviii.) rhymes *large*, *charge*, and *corage*; *Lancelot gud* and *destitude* (95-96) and *destitut conclud* (193-4, 1177-8). The *Quare of Jelusy* has this last peculiarity also (520, 523, 524), and the novel form "chapture" is coined to rhyme with "pure."

No comment is necessary upon the fact that in the actual texts of both poems final *ë* needs often to be added, and final *en*, and initial *y-*, that short words are wanting and superfluous words are added, for this simply means that the scribes were careless and little appreciative of the music of verse.

There are of course striking differences also, and in certain portions of *Lancelot* there are linguistic peculiarities which will be remarked upon in Section V.

The *Quare of Jelusy*, also in a unique text, is found in the same MS. as the *Quair*, folios 221-228. The colophon *Quod Auch* led David Laing, the only editor, to assign it to Auchinleck (in Scotland pronounced Affleck), and to identify him with the poet mentioned by Dunbar in his *Lament for the Makaris*:

> That scorpioun fell hes done infek
> Maister Johne Clerke and James Afflek
> Fra balat making and trigide.

Laing thinks that possibly he is the James Auchlek who graduated at St. Andrews[53] in 1471, and who is marked *pauper* in the register —which shows that in graduating he was not asked to pay fees. Laing also believes that this Auchinleck was, in 1494, Secretary to the Earl of Ross and Precentor of Caithness, who died in September, 1497.[54]

Whoever the poet was, who is designated by the abbreviation *Auch*, there can be no doubt about his knowledge of the *Kingis Quair* and partial dependence upon it. There are many verbal resemblances which are given in detail in the notes, and there is the same love of interrogation and the same frequent use of padding. There is also kindred debt to Gower, Chaucer, and Lydgate, in

particular to the *Temple of Glas*. The plan of the later *Quare* has been to some extent modelled on that of the earlier. There is the same grave ethical spirit and the same disposition to exhort.

The second poem treats of Jealousy, its character and consequences, as the first does of Love, its nature, course, difficulties and final triumph. For while the *Kingis Quair* is based to a certain extent upon a passage in the life of King James I., it is substantially an allegory and sermon upon the blameworthiness of mere appetite, and upon the necessity for the cooperation of passion, wisdom, and good fortune, if marriage is to be happy. Both poems condemn severely the licentiousness of the age, and both shew a purity of sentiment and of expression rare in fifteenth-century Scottish poetry, and unknown in sixteenth-century poetry until after the Reformation.

In the *Quare of Jelusy* the poet deals, as he says, with what has been part of his personal experience. He does not, however, employ the Dream device, but adopts the equally common adventure upon a May morning. He awakes; something comes to his remembrance; he can sleep no longer, and he goes forth and walks by the side of a river which bounds a wood. There he sees a beautiful lady who curses Jealousy in an agony of despair. The poet is so much moved that he would fain seek to offer comfort, but the lady is joined by a companion, and the two ladies go away together. Pity and anger rouse him to write something in scorn of Jealousy. He does this with much emphasis but with little power of imagination or beauty of phrase. He is thus led to the main body of his work, which he calls "a treatise in reproof of jealousy." Now the *Kingis Quair*, which opens in mid-winter, not in early summer, has a parallel twofold introduction. In the first part the poet is brought to the point of writing, in the second he gives his personal experience leading to the dream which gives the substance of the poem. The second part of the introduction in each poem opens with an invocation of Youth,[65] and both poems in the second part of their introduction have an invocation of Thesiphone, oddly enough in different erroneous ways, for while Thesiphone in the *Kingis Quair* is a Muse, in the *Quare of Jelusy* she has changed sex and is invoked as "Thou lord of wo and care." The concluding part of each poem has an address to lovers and an apology

for the poet's want of skill—much more appropriate to the later poem than to the earlier. In structure, thought, diction and versification the second *Quare* is as much inferior to the first as Jealousy is inferior to Love.

For the substance of his work Auchinleck, if we may call the poet by his conjectural name, uses material drawn from sources not used by the writer of the *Kingis Quair*. He knows something of *Bocchus and Sydrake*, a curious book, known at least by report to Gavin Douglas, who names the Christian sage in his *Palice of Honour :*

> Melyssus with his sawis but defence
> Sidrake, Secundus, and Solenyus ![56]

He has read in part either the *Legenda Aurea* or the Scottish *Lives of the Saints* attributed to Barbour, because he mentions the punishment of Henry II. (S. Henry), Emperor of Germany, for his jealousy of his Empress Cunegunda, and tells how he was saved by the intercession of S. Lawrence.

The later poem has a much more frequent reference to Scripture. The poet has his eye upon Scottish life as it was lived around him. He has marked the character and conduct of the more powerful classes, and he illustrates his teaching by direct reference to a then well-known tragedy in high life, the murder of a wife by her jealous husband and the suicide of the murderer.

On the formal side this poem links both with the *Kingis Quair* and *Lancelot of the Laik*. The poet endeavours to make up for his thinner thought and feebler poetic message by greater metrical variety. In his 607 lines he uses five verse forms. Lines 1-190 are written in five-accent couplet, lines 191-316 in the nine-line stanza of Chaucer's *Compleynt of Faire Anelyda upon Fals Arcyte*, rhyming a a b, a a b, b a b, and lines 317-463 in *Troilus* stanza. The nine-line stanza is resumed at 464 and is carried on to line 571 ; lines 572-581 form a ten-line stanza rhyming a a b, a a b, b c b c ; and the five-accent couplet is once more employed in the closing address to lovers, lines 582-607. If, in a poem which is tedious throughout, the writer can be described as having two styles, there is a very long-winded style in the five-accent portions, and a fairly compact style in the stanza sections, especially in the part in *Troilus* stanza, where the meaning never overflows as it

does sometimes, though rarely, in the *Kingis Quair*. Overflow of meaning from line to line is fairly common, but there is a severity and a simplicity about this stanza in the *Quare of Jelusy* which contrast with the more refined art and greater variety of the earlier poem. The rhymes, with the exceptions already noted, are of the usual type, and in both *Quairs hert astert* seems a favourite.

Links between *Lancelot* and the *Quare of Jelusy* are numerous. Both poems are indebted to the *Knight's Tale* and the *Squire's Tale*, and in both there is reference to the Book of Daniel (*L. L.* 1365, *Q. J.* 350, 351). The opening of the later poem recalls the opening of Book III. of *Lancelot*. But nowhere in the *Quare* is there any passage fit to be compared with the finer and more spirited portions of the romance.

The Prologue of *Lancelot* and the five-accent portions of the *Quare of Jelusy* are most nearly related. All that has already been said about points of likeness in poetic manner between *Lancelot* and the *Kingis Quair* applies likewise to the *Quare of Jelusy*. Rhyming correspondences are also threefold, with the exception of one uncommon rhyme already mentioned. Final *ing* and final *ness* are very common, and the rhyming of a word with itself occurs a few times in the *Quare of Jelusy*. Similarities of expression are also found. In addition to those indicated in the Notes may be mentioned "sobir ayer" (*Q. J.* 18, *L. L.* 352), "abominable was hold" (*Q. J.* 255, *L. L.* 1625).

Reserving questions of language, meanwhile, we ask what conclusion may be drawn as to the relation of the three poems? Have we, as tradition has it, three poets—King James writing in 1423 or 1424, and two Scottish subjects writing later who knew his work and used it? Have we two poets—a poet of the *Kingis Quair*, and one poet of two later poems, as Professor Skeat privately assures me he is able to prove? There is a third possible solution—that we have but one poet who partly translated a French romance in his youth, who was much indebted to Chaucer's *Knight's Tale* and was fired by the spirit of it in his higher moods, who extended his knowledge of English poetry and wrote the *Kingis Quair*, and who finally in old age, with failing power and no inspiration, wrote the *Quare of Jelusy*. This is but

a possibility, certainly not proved, perhaps not provable, but such diversities as are to be found, and they are striking enough, may be due to the different stages of life at which one poet wrote rather than to a succession of different poets.

As documents in the narrower sense the two *Quairs* have little light to throw upon fifteenth-century Scotland. In the wider sense they shed much. They shew by their very imperfections at what a mighty price in culture and attainment, as well as in material comfort, the struggle with England was carried on. A Scotsman who loves his country is touched by this poetic poverty. He remembers that it is part of the payment for the conflict which moulded the national character and gave to the Scottish people a resoluteness and love of freedom which could not otherwise have been theirs.

Later Scottish poets have casual phrases which point to some knowledge of the *Quair*. No one has borrowed from the substance of it or has endeavoured to write in the manner of it, though the stanza has been much used. Henryson possibly knew the poem, and he has slight coincidences both of thought and diction. The coincidences of thought are chiefly on the subject of Fortune. Thus he writes in the *Testament of Cresseid* (549, 550):

> So elevait I was in wantones
> And clam upon the fickle quheill sa hie ;[57]

and in *The Lyon and the Mous*:

> Thow fals fortune ! quhilk of all variance
> Is haill maistres and leidar of the dance. (200, 201).

More relevant is the passage in *Orpheus and Eurydice* (453-458):

> And thir thre turnis ay
> Ane ugly quhele, is noucht ellis to say,
> That warldly men sumtyme ar casten hie.
> Apon the quhele, in grete prosperitee
> And wyth a quhirl, unwarly or thai witte,
> Ar thrawin doun to pure and law estate.[58]

Henryson uses the phrase "golden wyre":

> As golden wyre sa glitterand was his hair (*T. C.* 177) ;[59]

and "ane spark of luf" (*T. C.* 512)[60] and "cry peip anis," "Cry peip, quhare euir ȝe be" (*U. M.* and *B. M.* 26, 147), which recall "Now, suetë bird, say onës to me 'pepe.'"[61]

In Dunbar's poetry there are a few indications of knowledge of the *Quair* in certain phrases in the *Goldyn Targe* as well as in the invocation of Chaucer, and Gower, and Lydgate, and in the address to his poem as a "lytill quair" in the last stanza. Chaucer is addressed :

> O reuerend Chaucer, rose of rethoris all,
> As in oure tong ane flour imperiall,
> That raise in Britane ewir, quho redis rycht,
> Thou beris of makaris the tryumph riall.[62]

"Morall Gower and Lydgate laureate" are praised with more warmth than discrimination :

> Your angel mouthis most mellifluate
> Our rude language has clere illumynate
> And faire our-gilt oure speche, that imperfyte
> Stude, or your goldyn pennis schupe to wryte :
> This Ile before was bare and desolate
> Off rethorike or lusty fresch endyte.[63]

The address to his Quair is in the usual style of modest depreciation.

In Gavin Douglas there is practically nothing that would even suggest knowledge of the *Quair* or of the other poems most closely related to it. Possibly the line "Help, Calyope, and wynd, in Marye name" (stanza xvii. 6) may have suggested the contrast in the Proloug of the First Buik of the *Æneid :*

> On thee I call, and Mary virgine myld,
> Calliope nor pagane goddis wyld
> May do to me no thing bot harme, I wene,
> In Christ is all my traist and hewynnis quene.[64]

The Proloug of the Fowrt Buik[65] has, in the course of "a gud counsall to all wemen," the following passage which recalls the *Quare of Jelusy* (467, 470) :

> Fy on desait and fals dissimulance
> Contrar to kynd wyth fenȝeit cheir smyling,
> Wndir the cloke of luffis obseruance,
> The venom of the serpent redy to sting !

But as Douglas expressly refers to Gower he probably was thinking of Auchinleck's original rather than of his poem.

While there is all but absence of reference in Douglas, Lyndsay has a few passages which point to familiarity with the language of the poem and occasionally he has references to King James I.

himself, although he never expressly designs him poet. Yet, as has been pointed out, he implies that James was a poet.[66] He alludes to the King's captivity and to Rothesay's death,[67] and he quotes the saying "He would make the rash bush keep the cow."[68] He expressly refers to King James First's description of the over-pious liberality of King David I.

> King James the first, roy of this regioun,
> Said that he was ane sair sanct to the crown. (II. 150.)

The most significant reference to the *Quair*, already quoted, is:

> And spairis nocht the prince more than the paige.[69]

Other references are scarcely doubtful. The opening lines of *The Prologue to the Dreme* are reminiscent of the opening of the *Quair*:

> In the Calendis of Ianuarie
> Quhen fresche Phebus, be moving circulair,
> From Capricorne was enterit in Aquarie
> With blastis that the branches maid full bare.[70]

So are the birds' blessing of summer, and the weltering of the waves up and down (90 and 128), and the description of Venus:

> Thay peirsit myne hart, hir blenkis amorous,
> Quhowbeit that sumtyme, scho is changeabyll
> With countenance and cheir full dolorous,
> Quhylumis rycht plesand, glaid and delectabyll;
> Sumtyme constant, and sumtyme variabyll.[71]

This recalls the picture of the goddess Fortune in stanza clxi. of the *Quair*. The prologue to the *Testament and Complaynt of the Papyngo* has one or two slighter resemblances. It announces that the bell of rhetoric has been rung by Chaucer, Gower, and Lidgate laureate, and it shews a kindred feeling about birds. Like Henryson, Lyndsay compares hair to gold wire:

> Lyke the quhyte lyllie was hir lyre,
> Hir hair wes like the reid gold wyre.[72]

In the *Testament* appended to the same poem he makes the valiant squire deplore black suits of woe:

> Dull weidis I think hypocrisie and scorne
> With huidis heklet doun ouirthort thair ene.[73]

The hypocritical folk of religion, who freely served love in secret, are seen by the poet attired in the same fashion:

> For schame thaire hudis oure thaire eyne thay hyng.[74]

After Lyndsay's day, although the King's poetry is referred to by Buchanan, as we have seen, there is nothing, so far as I remember, to show that it was known to any Scottish or English poet, until the re-discovery and publication of it by William Tytler in 1783.

IV

THE TEXTS AS IN THE MANUSCRIPTS

THE unique MS. of the *Kingis Quair* is part of the well-known Bodleian volume already designated, and is written on folios 192-211. It has few features likely to rouse enthusiasm in a student of palæography. There is elaborate ornamentation on the first page, but, except in occasional initial capital letters, none elsewhere. There is, throughout, a rudimentary system of punctuation which is observed in the transcript, but it would be difficult to say on what principle it is based. The capital letter I has several forms. They vary from a long bold letter to a much shorter, which can with difficulty be distinguished from the ordinary small cursive *i*. The contractions used are the ordinary contractions of the period, and there were two scribes, the second beginning at stanza clxxviii. 1. The handwriting of each is singularly uniform, but the second begins his work in a very fine small script, and passes at clxxxii. 2 to a larger and bolder writing. All experts are agreed that the manuscript belongs to the latter half of the fifteenth century. Indeed it may belong to any decade from 1488 to 1513. The late David Laing, who had made a collation of Tytler's text with the MS., probably with a view to a new edition, believed that it was written towards the end of the fifteenth century.*

The MS., however, like many medieval copies of earlier vernacular work, has not a few slight blunders, which make amendment of the text necessary. Some errors of transcription have been noted by the first scribe, and a later hand has sought to amend, erroneously at one point, correctly at another. There

* Manuscript note in Laing's copy of Tytler's edition of the *Quair*, formerly the property of the late John Scott, C.B., of Hawkhead, now in the possession of the present editor.

are, besides, other errors in the text, apparent from the faulty rhythm of many verses, and these errors are due now to omission, now to addition. A few errors are to be traced to wrong reading of the original, this being manifest by a result which is unintelligible.

The errors noted and corrected by the first scribe are these. In xxi. 4 "freschenesse" is stroked out and "confort" put in the margin, "in drede" is stroked out after "help" in xxviii. 7, while in xlv. 5 a bungled "gan" is stroked through and a clear "gan" written after it. In lxxii. 3 "ly" is written before "lef" but marked out, as "full" is after "smyte" in cv. 7, while in cviii. 7 "graice" has over it certain strokes, as if for deletion, and in cix. 7, "foule on" is written over "doken." There are two corrections in cxv. In line 6 "breken" after "bot" is scored through and written anew above, while in line 7 "Is non" is written and the "non" is corrected to "not," "eft," which follows, being written in a bold hand over some other word simply begun, while "none" is written above partly over "not" and partly over "eft." In cxxxiv. 7, "heid" is written above "ypocrisye," and in cxlv. 1 "the" before "creatures" is marked out and "ȝe" is written above. "In a rout can" copied from the line above is repeated in cliii. 4. The stroking through, here, may be by a later hand. Lines 4, 5, in clxxv., have been transposed in copy-
b
ing, but they are marked a unmistakably by the original scribe.
b
A similar transposition, in clxxxv. 4, 5, is noted by a in the left margin and }tr on the right, but this correction is certainly by a later hand, as is the addition of *i* to "pouert" in v. 6; line 4 of clx. is incomplete, the word or one of the words omitted being the rhyme word. In clxxxii. 4 the scribe corrects "coppin" to "croppin" by writing *r* above *o*.

A mistake in copying accounts for the repetition of "floure-ionettis" in xlvii. 5, taken down from the close of the line above. Yet repetition of the same word in rhyme is an occasional feature.*

Faults of rhythm, wholly out of keeping with the metrical

* Instances will be found in vii. 2, 5; xxxvii. 6, 7; clxxii. 4, 5.

excellence of the main body of the poem, disclose two whole classes of scribal mistakes. Monosyllables and final syllables are often omitted; sometimes, but much more rarely, two syllables are lacking. Occasionally there is redundancy, and this where the syllable cannot be regarded as a light ending to verse or half verse. Instances of such omission (and there are many more, as perusal of the exact transcript and comparison with the amended text will shew) are to be found in iii. 3, viii. 7, ix. 2, xv. 4, xxiv. 4, lxxvi. 6, cxxii. 6, cxlii. 5, cxcvi. 5. As striking as any is xiv. 1, where two syllables are wanting and "Thou" is written "Though." In xxiii. 4, lvi. 7, lxxiv. 7, and xcvii. 5, there are instances of a wholly unmusical redundant syllable, and these are but a few out of a considerable number. Other slips of the scribes are the running together of words which should be separate and the separation of parts of a word which should be united. Thus "quitis" is written for "quit is" in vi. 4, and "alyte" for "a lyte" in clxi. 3. "Tocum" in xiv. 6, like "salbe" in cxcv. 4, is a common Middle Scots scribal practice.

On the other hand such severances as "lok in" for "lokin" in cxxxv. 5, and "bynd and" for "byndand" in cvii. 5 are the result of pure misunderstanding on the part of the scribe, as are "theire" for "thir" in vi. 5, "wil" for "wel" in cxxxiii. 2, "this" for "thinkis" in clxxxiii. 5, "cunnyng" for "cummyn" in clxxxv. 6, "quhile" for "quhele," clxxxix. 7, "one" for "me" in cxci. 6, and "chiere" for "chere" in clxi. 3. To the same kind of blundering are probably to be attributed "late" for "lyte" in i. 5, "north northward" for "north-north-west" in i. 7, "poetly" for "poleyt" iv. 6, "hailsing" for "halflyng" in clxvi. 4, and "sanctis" for "factis" in cxci. 3. But these last are matters of opinion not of fact, although the probability of their being mistakes is strong, as is the conclusion that "Citherea" in i. 3 is an error for "Cinthia" and "Inpnis" not for "Impnis" but for "Ympis" in the last stanza of the poem. Difficulties are presented likewise by "said renewe" in cxxv. 5, by the line cxx. 2:

> Vnto the quhich ȝe aught and maist weye,

and by the couplet clxx. 6, 7:

> Be froward opposyt quhare till aspert,
> Now sall thai turn, and luke on the dert.

The natural inference from these facts—and the statement of them is not exhaustive—is that precious though the MS. be it is not absolutely authoritative. It is not an autograph ; yet looking to the character of some of the first scribe's corrections, it is possibly a copy of an autograph, which here and there had been difficult to read, and had traces of corrections some of which, like those in xxi. 4 and xxviii. 7, have passed over to the copy.

As there are no other manuscripts for comparison the quest of a true text ought perhaps to be abandoned as impracticable. Johnson's maxims rise to the mind. "The collator's province is safe and easy, the conjecturer's perilous and difficult. There is danger lest peculiarities should be mistaken for corruptions and passages rejected as unintelligible which a narrow mind happens not to understand." Yet an endeavour to construct a true text is at least less censurable when the actual text is given ; for when comparison of one part of the poem with another, and conjecture in the light of MS. and other poetry of the time have failed to give a satisfactory solution of what are certainly difficulties, probably errors, failure may suggest a solution to some one else. One cannot say that the arrangement of verses cxxxv. 4, 5 is wrong. The imperfect knitting of the syntax may be due to the poet, not to the scribe. But as there is one certain derangement in clxxv. 4, 5, and another highly probable in clxxxv. 4, 5, it is at least permissible to rearrange stanza cxxxv. and also cx.

Professor Skeat found the clue to many faults of rhythm by pointing to the scribe's imperfect mastery of Chaucer's use of final *ĕ*. How much of what we find in rhythmical confusion is due to the poet, how much to the scribe, cannot be decided. Probably the greater part, perhaps the whole, is due to the scribes, who could not have such familiarity with the verse of Chaucer as the poet. The methods of Scottish medieval scribes with final *ĕ* are past finding out. No better instance of the restoration of melody to a verse could be given than Dr. Skeat's amendment of the MS. in xxxii. 4 :

The scharp grene suete Ienepere

which becomes

The scharpē grenē suetē Ienepere.

A glance at his suggested readings given with the amended text will shew how effective his method is. It is not a complete

explanation, however, and he has occasionally applied his key where a closer investigation scarcely sanctions its use, for example in "estatë" (iii. 6) and "pryncë" (ix. 5), in "fourë" (xxi. 1),* in cix. 7, where the rhythm does not require it, and in the suggestion that i. 7 should read "north northëward." It may at least be debated whether the poet did not in such words as "fair" take the liberty of now making them monosyllables, now dissyllables, fāir, as they are in some Scottish dialects to this day. This variation according to metrical needs is a common feature of Chaucer's verse, especially with regard to the accentuation of French words.† It is found in the *Quair: confort* is now *confórt* (iv. 7 and xxv. 7) and again *cónfort* (cxxiii. 4 and cxxvii. 5). The same kind of alternation we find in the *Quare of Jelusy*, where in lines 598, 599, we have "aire" and "fire" monosyllabic, and in 18 "ayer," in 557 "fyir," dissyllabic, if "fyir" be the correct reading.

There is, of course, peril attending the introduction of unrepresented words of one or two syllables into an amended text. But as the rhythm and sometimes the sense demand such additions the main question is whether they are made with due regard to analogy. Thus to introduce an initial "And" in i. 7 and xlvii. 1 may seem arbitrary. Yet we find initial "And" omitted in the last line of the last stanza of the *Ballad of Good Counsel* (Camb. MS.) where not only the Bannatyne MS. and the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis* version but the first stanza of the Cambridge version itself prove that it must have been written by the poet. Besides a frequent symbol for "and" was @, which might easily be overlooked. Similarly the manifest omission of a two-syllable word before "ȝouth" in xiv. 1 justifies Dr. Skeat's suggestion of "sely," occasionally used elsewhere in the poem, as perhaps it may justify the alternative "tendir" in the text, suggested by the corresponding passage in the *Quare of Jelusy*. In clxxxix. 1 likewise, some such word as "hyë," "gretë," or "blisfull" is needed for balance and for rhythm. Dr. Skeat has given "heyë" applied to Venus in xcix. 1; "blissfull" in the text, from cxcii. 4, is adopted rather as an alternative than as an improvement. None of the words sug-

* Fourë is Gower's pronunciation. Scottish usage and the Old English form fēōwer suggest fowër as the sound. In *L. L.* 610 to keep the rhythm xxiiij must be pronounced twenty-fowër.

† Ten Brink—"Chaucers Sprache und Verskunst," § 284.

gested may give the poet's text, but some such adjective he certainly did use. In the *Notes* reasons are given for readings adopted except for vocal final *ë*, *en*, and initial *y*, the explanation in such cases being obvious.

The *Quare of Jelusy*, as has already been noted, is found in the same MS. It may have been written by the second scribe of the *Kingis Quair*, but this is doubtful.* It begins at the top of folio 221 verso, and ends on 228 verso. The MS. has been slightly damaged on 225 verso, 226 verso, on 227 and 227 verso, and on 228. On 227 and 228 some initial words have been wholly obliterated. Some liquid seems to have been spilled over the parts thus blurred. Blanks are supplied from Laing's text. The handwriting is uniform throughout. Highly ornamental capitals are found at the opening of the poem, of the address to youth, and of the "Trety in the reprefe of Ielusy." Elsewhere elaborate capitals are more common than in the earlier poem. There are no corrections by the scribe as in the first part of the *Kingis Quair*, but there are kindred slips in transcription, as is evident from omissions of small words and from faults in rhythm and occasional redundancies. Yet, from the character of the poem as a whole, one is disposed now and again to blame the poet rather than the scribe, although probably to the scribe are to be assigned most of the errors. As these are specified in suggested amendments to the text and briefly commented on in the *Notes*, all that is here necessary is to give a few instances of the kind of emendation required. Addition of final *ë* gives proper rhythm in line 17, "But walking furth upon the newë grene," in 67, "The scharpë deth mote perce me throuch the hert"; in 119 "quhich to my hertë sat full very nere." Initial "and" corrects both metre and thought in l. 83, "And wote that I am sakelese, me defende," while the substitution of "Leuith" for "Beleuith" in 589 gives at once rhythm and meaning, although "beleue" is used in the same sense as "leue," but not frequently. Possibly the text might be kept by pronouncing "beleu'th." "Ilk" for "thilk" in l. 86, and "ony" for "mony" in l. 198, and "sewe" for "schewe" in l. 533 give the poet's meaning. Short words have fallen out of the text as in ll. 143, 223, 345, 378, and 494, and the probability is that the

* See Appendix C—The scribes of the two *Quairs*.

poet wrote "off" and not "under" in l. 78, and "fyir" not "tigir" in 557.

The *Ballad of Good Counsel* has an interest of a wholly different kind. The three forms of it make a probable reconstruction of the original possible. The Cambridge MS., which gives the oldest form, is plainly the least accurate. One whole stanza is wanting, and, considering the length of the piece, scribal errors are numerous. Yet this version is important because it shews very clearly the kind of negligence which may be looked for in copies of medieval vernacular poems, while the later versions exhibit the unconscious process of modernisation which went on when a scribe of a later generation undertook to give a copy of an earlier poem to his contemporaries. Testing the Cambridge MS. by Dr. Skeat's restored version,* which most scholars will generally approve,† we find eight errors in fourteen lines, to say nothing of the omission of the second stanza. If, on the other hand, we test the later versions by the earliest, where this has manifestly the better readings, we see that neither has "noblay," or "weill," or "sew," and in each case the word substituted is meant to explain what has become archaic.

V

LANGUAGE OF THE POEMS

To discuss the language of the Ballad a sentence or two will suffice. In its earliest form it is fifteenth century Scots without admixture of English. The inflections shew this purity—"incressis," "steppis," "eene," which the scribe wrote amiss as "erne." "*A* spane" is also early, as is the noun "noblay," which is found in Gower[1] and Chaucer,[2] in the *Bruce*[3] and the *Lives of the Saints*,[4] but not, so far as I have noted, in Henryson, Dunbar, Douglas or Lyndsay.

The *Kingis Quair* presents a more complex problem and the first aspect of it meets us in some slight linguistic differences in the portions written by the different scribes. In the last twenty stanzas we find two words in a form never used by the first scribe.

* S. T. S. Ed. of *K. Q.*, p. 54.

† The close of l. 5 was, perhaps, "that first thy lyf began."

These are "witht" (clxxviii. 4) and "coutht" (cxcvi. 6). Of many noun plurals all are in "is" or "ys" except one "tymës" (clxxx. 2). "War" as preterite of the verb "to be" occurs twice (clxxxii. 4 and clxxxvii. 4). This form does not once occur in the foregoing one hundred and seventy-seven stanzas. "Endith" for "endit" (cxcvi. 1), "plesandly" (clxxviii. 5), and the spellings *hich* and *hoith* are also peculiar to this part. There are three Midland English present indicative plurals: "ben" (clxxix. 2), "lyven" (clxxxvi. 2), and "glitteren" (clxxxix. 2), and two third singular presents, "hath" (cxci. 4) and "flourith" (cxciii. 4). There is one second singular present indicative in *yst*—"cummyst" (cxcv. 1). Every weak preterite ends in *it*, and one present participle in *and*—"lyvand" (cxcvii. 3); "wald" occurs, never "wold." English contamination of Scottish speech is thus at almost the lowest point consistent with its presence in the poet's language.

When we turn to the much larger portion of the poem written by the first scribe we find a liberal mingling of English and Scottish forms with an additional slight element of provincialism or, it may be, of deliberate artificiality. In the noun the common Southern English plural form *es* is of frequent occurrence: sterres, peynes, stremes, menes, aleyes, leues, assayes, hertes, dremes, bemes, layes, dayes, armes, ladyes, bodyes, and others are found, but the prevailing plural is in *is*, occasionally *ys*. In the adjective no plural form is found except in occasional final *ë* as in "smalë grenë twistis" (xxxiii. 1), "the suetë grenë bewis" (lxvii. 2), and this vocal final *ë* is not regular. The poet, as Dr. Skeat has shewn in great detail,* followed Chaucer in occasional employment of the definite form of the adjective which had a vocal final *ë*. The definite form occurs after a possessive pronoun, and after *the*, *that*, and *this*. Instances are so frequent that it is not necessary to mention more than one or two by way of illustration. Such we have in "the planë" (xxxvi. 1), "the coldë" (lxxiii. 4), "the slawë," "the nycë" (clv. 4, 5).

In the verb the second singular present indicative is found in the normal Scottish form "thou seis" (lxxxviii. 2), "standis thou" and "wantis" (cxv. 6, 7), "thou has" (liv. 4), "thou descendis" (cxv. 1), "gynnis" (lvii. 7), but there is also the

* Introd. *K. Q.*, p. xxix.

Southern "hastow" (lviii. 1), and "wostow" for "woldest thou" (lix. 3).

The Southern third person singular present *eth*, generally represented by *ith*, is very common, but the Scottish form in *is* prevails, while the present plural is found in *en* and *ith* and *is*. The *en* for this inflection is so common that it amply justifies Dr. Skeat's addition of it to words where it is not written, in order to correct the rhythm. The use of the several inflections seems to be entirely arbitrary. Thus in cxviii. we read "dropen," "styntith," "murnyth," "haue," and "hiden," while in cxix. there are "flouris springis," "birdis sing," "gynnen folk renew." The Scottish weak preterite *it*, with the variant *id*, prevails, "rynsid" (i. 4), but the Southern *ed* is found in "heved" (i. 6), "ensured" (ix. 5), "despeired" (xxx. 2), "depeynted" (xliii. 4), "maked" (cx. 7).

In the verb *to be* "bene," "ben," "ar," "are," and "is" (cxx. 3) are all found as present plural indicative. The Midland preterite "weren" occurs (xxiv. 6), but this form is required by the metre; elsewhere it is "were" (xcii. 1, 3, 6; xciii. 3). The Southern imperative plural is also found in cii. 5 "schapith," and this fact may justify the amendment of the text to "worschippeth" (cxxxiv. 1), "chideth" (lvi. 6), and "groundith" (cxxxi. 6). The Southern pure infinitive and gerundial infinitive in *en* are also common, while the Northern present participle in *and* occurs but once, in "byndand," if this be the correct reading and the scribe have bungled by separating *bynd* and *and*. Provincialisms are "gardyng" in xxxiii. 5, "I falling" in xlv. 4, and an artificial form is "forehede," if "fairhede" be the correct reading.

One of the most marked Southern English characteristics is the use of the modified intensive past participle prefix *y* or *i*, for Old English *ge*, which at a very early period largely disappeared from the Northern dialect. It remains in I-blent, I-laid, i-thankit, i-wonne,* y-bete, y-bought, y-callit, y-thrungin, y-wallit. That this Southern survival is so frequent makes the restoration of it natural where rhythm is defective in verses with past participles, and that it is necessary for the metre shews that it cannot be

* References will be found in the Glossary. "y-bete" is probably an infinitive. See note *in loco*.

regarded as a scribal peculiarity. But for this fact one might have explained the much stronger English colouring of the first scribe's work by his being himself of southern origin. A puzzling alternation of dialect is found in the use of "wald" and "wold," "wate" and "wote." On the other hand the Northern forms "sall" and "suld" are invariable.

The language of the *Quare of Jelusy* closely resembles that of the *Kingis Quair* in its artificiality. It is a Scottish-English compound, but the compound has characteristic differences and one or two peculiarities to which there is nothing similar in the MS. text of the earlier poem, though some of them are common enough in Middle Scots (418). Such are "y-suffering" (369) for "sufferen" as third plural present indicative, and "beith" for "is" in 519, and "is tone" for "tane," and "hath tone" (575). In some ways the language is more markedly Scottish than that of the *Quair*, in others more emphatically English. The poet or the scribe always uses "beseke" for "beseech" (187, 312, 597); he has the form "ta" for "take" (73); and in 171 he has "war" for "were," while more characteristically Scottish in spirit if not in usage is "was" for "were" in 257—"was thir Ladies ever in honour hold." Scottish also is "mon" for "must" (266), as are "one creature" (although the *o* for *a* is English) and "ane suich offence" (66), if "ane" be the correct reading. All weak preterites without exception are in *it*. The Poem has *es* plurals in almost the same proportion—"ladyes" and "ladies" several times, "termes" and "stories." In the infinitive and gerundial infinitive there is the same alternation of Southern and Northern forms. The scribe writes most frequently *yn*, sometimes *in*, for *en*: gladin, plesyn, chesyn, sittyn, fallyn, encressyn, but he has writen (178) and suffren (228).

Southern influence is chiefly apparent in second and third person singular of the present indicative, in the imperative, and in the past participle. For the second person singular present the genuine Scottish *is* occurs but seldom—"thou knowis" (81), and even here Southern *o* takes the place of Northern *a*, "thou leis" (471), "makis thou" (509). The false form "thou passith," "thou faylith," "thou werketh" is by comparison frequent. For the third singular *ith* occurs all but invariably. The Scottish inflection

is found in 240, "that lyis," and there it is needed for rhyme. Imperatives in *ith* are numerous—"helpith, excusith, leuith," and others. Past participles with the intensive *y* prefix are twice as common as in the *Kingis Quair*: "y-brocht, y-come, y-slawe, y-murderit, y-marterit, y-writte, y-bound, y-ground, y-sett, y-ronne, y-fret, y-brent." "Sall" is occasionally found, but "schall" is the prevailing form as is "schuld," once "schold" (217), but "suld" now and again occurs. "Wald" and "wold" are both written. The present participle is always *ing*, never *and*. The relative pronoun in both poems is variously *quho*, *quhois*, *that*, *quhich*, *the which*, *quhilk*, in the *Quare of Jelusy* there is also *which that*. In the *Kingis Quair that* is the favourite relative, in the other poem *the which*.

In *Lancelot of the Laik* there are all the varieties in noun, pronoun, and verb inflections which are found in the other poems, but the verbal forms are more frequently varied in spelling, the preterite plural of the verb "to be" appearing in six forms* *war*, *weir*, *ware*, *waren*, *veryng*, *waryng*. The poem has besides two peculiarities which never appear in either of the other poems. It has sometimes *at* for *that* (1027, 1198, 1235), and with equal frequency the form *iff* for *give* (1655, 1722, 1751). There is a curious variety in the use of the word "wy" meaning "wight." It never occurs in the *Kingis Quair*, it is found once in *Lancelot*, it is a common word in the *Quare of Jelusy*. If we accept some variations as scribal, especially the two above-noted peculiarities in *Lancelot*, there is little to take from the conclusion that possibly we have not three poets but one. A certain lack of uniformity may be looked for where the language used is artificial.

Certain other features require to be noted. *Lancelot* and the *Quare of Jelusy* frequently have *sett* for *though*, the *Kingis Quair* has not this word at all. *Lancelot* has occasionally, but not often, *supponit*, *proponit*, *dispone*, the *Quare of Jelusy* has *dispone* twice, the *Kingis Quair* has not this form. In the use of *ane* or *one* before a normal consonant the poems show a striking uniformity, and, so far as there is variety, it is in agreement with what we have ventured to suggest as their historical order. *Lancelot*, in 3,486 lines, has this usage twice—"in one plane" (683), "one new

* Dr. Skeat's preface to *L. L.*, p. xv.

assemble" (930)—the *Kingis Quair*, in 1,379 lines, has it once—"ane surcote," already noted—the *Quare of Jelusy*, in 607 lines, has it thrice, if "did ane" is a proper amendment of "didin" in line 66. The other instances are "one lady" (145) and "ane noble hert" (304). How widely apart from other Middle Scots poems in this respect, as in the employment of English forms, these poems are, may be estimated by this contrast: Henryson in the *Testament of Cresseid*, which is but nine lines longer than the *Quare of Jelusy*, has this construction fifty-eight times; Douglas, in 424 lines of *King Hart*, has it thirty times.

The whole subject of the language of these poems, especially of the *Kingis Quair*, might well raise the question of a possible relation between it and fragment B of the *Romaunt of the Rose*. Dr. Skeat has shortly discussed it in §§ 73-76 of *The Chaucer Canon*, and is not altogether unfavourable to the hypothesis which was first suggested by Professor Seeley. He points to resemblances in substance, metre and diction. That the poet of the *Quair* knew something of the content of the *Romaunt of the Rose* is certain. He probably knew fragment B, as will be evident from the *Notes*. There are touches in ix. 5, and in cxxxvi., which suggest not merely the thought of the *Romaunt* but the language, as will be apparent from 6333 and 6261, 2. But had the poet of the *Quair* been also a translator of the French poem we may confidently conclude from his free and constant use of Chaucer and of Lydgate's *Temple of Glas* that he would have drawn much more upon the older treasury. The whole strain of the language, the grammatical inflections, the ever-recurring *her* and *hem* for *their* and *them* point to a writer widely different from the author of the *Kingis Quair*. The Northern cast of fragment B is slight and casual. In the *Kingis Quair* it is emphatic and fundamental.

REFERENCES TO INTRODUCTION

I

LIFE OF KING JAMES

1

[1] Dunbar—*Scottish Kings*, p. 182, founding on *Scotichron.*, xvi., 14, says that James was born in December. But *suum natale tenuit* here means "kept his Christmas."
[2] Wyntoun—*Oryg. Chron.*, ix., c. 20.
[3] *National MSS. of Scotland*, Part II., No. xlix.
[4] *Oryg. Chron.*, ix., c. 15, ll. 1633-4.
[5] *Exchequer Rolls*, iv., p. clxxi., No. 2; Dunbar's *Scottish Kings*, p. 180.
[6] *E. R.* as above, No. 1; Dunbar—ibid.
[7] Boece—*Scot. Hist.*, xvi., p. 334.
[8] Buchanan—*Scot. Hist.*, ix., c. 64.
[9] Lord Bute—*Essays on Modern Subjects*, p. 156.
[10] *Regist. Epis. Moray.*, p. 382; *Scotichron.*, II., p. 422.
[11] *Acts of Parliament of Scot.*, I., p. 572. By this Act, of date June 23, 1398, Rothesay was to act with the advice of the Council General, in their absence with the counsel of wise men and leal, among whom are named the Duke of Albany, Lord Brechin (Earl of Atholl), the Bishops of St. Andrews, Glasgow, and Aberdeen, the Earls of Douglas, Ross, Moray, Crawford.
[12] Lord Bute— *Essays*, as above, p. 163.
[13] *Scotichron.*, xv., c. 11.
[14] Ibid., xv., c. 12; *Oryg. Chron.*, ix., c. 22, ll. 2193-2202.
[15] *Scotichron.*, xv., c. 12.
[16] *Extracta*, p. 208; *Oryg. Chron.*, ix., c. 23, ll. 2211-2234; *Book of Pluscarden*, x., c. 17.
[17] *Acts Parl. Scot.*, I., p. 210.
[18] *Scotichron.*, xv., c. 12.
[19] Ibid., c. 18.
[20] Wylie—*History of England under Henry IV.*, II., p. 264, quoting Fonblanque—*Annals of House of Percy*, I., p. 241.
[21] Dict. Nat. Biog., xliv., p. 405.
[22] Brennan—*A History of the House of Percy*, p. 89.
[23] *Evidence given to Universities Commission in* 1826 *and in* 1830, III., pp. 171 sqq.
[24] *Scotichron.*, xv., c. 18.
[25] *Anchiennes Croniques d'Engleterre*, I., p. 209.
[26] *Oryg. Chron.*, ix., c. 25, ll. 2671-2710.
[27] *Cronikls of Scotland*, Bk. xvi., c. 15.
[28] Probably a mistake in transcription: ix. should be xi.
[29] Another mistake: MCCCCIV. should be MCCCCVI.
[30] Vid. Appendix A—Date of capture of James.
[31] *K. Q.*, stanzas xxiii., xxiv.
[32] *Scotichron.*, Bk. xv., c. 18.
[33] *Chronicle*, II., p. 273.

[34] *Chronicle of Kingdom of Scotland*, p. 70.
[35] *Scotichron.*, Bk. xv., c. 18.
[36] Bellenden—as above in 34.
[37] *Hist. of Scot.*, III., p. 133.
[38] *Oryg. Chron.*, Bk. ix., c. 26, ll. 2711-18. Bower says that death of Robert III. fell on March 28, 1405. *Scotichron.*, xv., c. 18.
[39] *Scottish Kings*, p. 183.
[40] *Oryg. Chron.*, ix., c. 26, ll. 2729-2768.
[41] Rymer—*Foed*, viii., p. 450.

II

[1] Bain—Calendar of documents relating to Scotland, IV., No. 723, quoting Issue Roll of Pells, 7 Henry IV.
[2] Ibid., No. 727.
[3] Date should be 31 October last, if 110 days be a correct reckoning.
[4] Issue Rolls, Pells, Michaelmas, 9 Henry IV., quoted by Bain, IV., No. 769.
[5] Bain—as above, IV., No. 739.
[6] Ibid., No. 777.
[7] Ibid., No. 780.
[8] Rymer—*Foed*, viii., p. 635.
[9] Ibid., p. 694.
[10] Ibid., pp. 734, 735.
[11] Scottish Historical Review—April, 1906, pp. 313, 314. *Evidence given to Universities Commission in* 1826 *and* 1830, III., pp. 171 sqq.
[12] *Scotichron.*, xvi., c. 30.
[13] Rymer—*Foed*, viii., pp. 735-7.
[14] Ibid., ix., p. 323.
[15] *National MSS. of England*, Part I., No. 36, quoted by Bain, IV., No. 822.
[16] *National MSS. of Scotland*, Part II., No. 62.
[17] *The Kingis Quair—A New Criticism*, p. 93.
[18] I., pp. 346, 347.
[19] Rymer—*Foed*, ix. p. 2.
[20] Bain—ix., No. 846.
[21] Rymer—*Foed*, ix., p. 44.
[22] *Scotichron.*, xv., c. 18; Wylie as above, II., p. 61.
[23] Wylie, as above; *Excerpta Historica*, p. 144.
[24] Major—*History of Greater Britain*, p. 366. (Scot. Historical Soc. ed.)
[25] Bain—IV., No. 852.
[26] *Scotichron.*, xv., c. 22.
[27] *Excerpta Historica*, p. 145.
[28] Charles, born May 26, 1391, was three years James's senior. He was prisoner at Windsor in 1416. (D'Héricault's Pref. to Poems of Charles d'Orléans, pp. xi, xxvii.)
[29] Rymer—*Foed*, ix., p. 307.
[30] Ibid., p. 323.
[31] Ibid., p. 341.
[32] Ibid., p. 41.
[33] Ibid.
[34] The original document is in the Historical Department of the Register House, Edinburgh.
[35] Sir William Fraser—*Red Book of Menteith*, I., pp. 283, 284. Fraser is of opinion that the letters were brought to Scotland in February, 1416, by John Lyon, the King's chaplain. Lyon went to England in May, 1412, "on a safe-conduct which was to continue until the King's liberation; and on January 20, 1416, he received a safe-conduct from Henry V. to proceed to Scotland, and the letters bear date 30 January."

16 *Red Book of Menteith*, as above.
17 The reading in the MS. of Letters is as like "Abbe" as "Awe."
18 Vol. II., p. 220.
19 Rymer—*Fœd.*, ix., 591.
20 Bain—IV., Nos. 886, 892, 895.
21 Ibid., No. 898.
22 Ibid.
23 Wyntoun—*Life of Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester*, p. 58
24 Boece, Bk. xvi., p. 344; Bellenden—*Cronicles*, Bk. xvi., c. 19.
25 Ramsay's *Lancaster and York*, I., p. 286.
26 *Chronicle of William Gregory*, Skinner, p. 139.
27 *Scotichron.*, II., p. 461.
28 Rymer—*Fœd.*, x., p. 123; Bain—IV., No. 905.
29 Rymer—*Fœd.*, x., p. 125.
30 Ibid., pp. 132, 134.
31 Bain—IV., No. 911.
32 William Drummond of Hawthornden—*History and Lives of the Five Jameses Kings of Scotland*, p. 56.
33 Bain., No. 918.
34 Hardyng's *Chronicle*, p. 387.
35 Stevenson—*Letters*, Rolls Series, I., p. 390.
36 *Rot. Scot.*, II., p. 234.
37 Rymer—*Fœd.*, x., p. 286.
38 Ibid., p. 290.
39 Ibid., p. 295.
40 Ibid., p. 294.
41 Stevenson—*Letters and Papers*, II., p. 444.
42 *E. R.* IV., 79.
43 Rymer—*Fœd.*, x., pp. 298-9.
44 Ibid., p. 338.
45 Bain—IV., Nos. 939, 954.
46 *Rot. Scot.*, II., p. 246; Rymer—*Fœd.*, x., p. 320.
47 Gregory's *Chronicle*, as above, p. 157.
48 Rymer—*Fœd.*, x., p. 323.
49 Ibid., pp. 352-3; Bain—IV., No. 949.
50 Ibid., p. 343.
51 Ibid.

III

1 This section throughout is based upon the *Scotichronicon* and *Acts of Parliaments of Scotland*, vol. II., pp. 1-21. Tytler's accounts of the reign of James, recent excellent Histories notwithstanding, is still the most detailed record of the period.
2 *Scotich.*, II., p. 466.
3 Ibid., p. 467.
4 Ibid., p. 511.
5 Rymer, x.
6 Maitland Club—*Life and Death of King James the First of Scotland*, pp. 47-209.
7 Ibid., c. 28.
8 See above Introd. I (ii.), note 36.
9 *Red Book of Menteith*, II., p. 291; III., pp. 293 304.
10 Maitland Club—*Deeds of the Kings of Scots*, p. 50.
11 Bellenden's translation, xvi., c. 21.
12 *Scottish Historical Review*, April, 1906.
13 Ibid.

14 MS. of copy of Charters in St. Andrews Univ. Library, printed in *Evidence before Univ. Commission*, as above.
15a Ibid.
15b MS. copy of Statutes of Faculty of Theology.
15c *Scot. Hist. Review*, April, 1906 ; MS. Minutes of Faculty of Arts.
16 Rymer, x., p. 410.
17 Ibid., p. 482.
18 Ibid., p. 486.
19 *Scotich.*, II., 499.
20 *Hist. of Scotland*, III., p. 242.
21 *Scotich.*, II., p. 506.
22 R. S. Rait—*Outlines of Relation between England and Scotland*, p. 114.
23 *Chronicon*, p. 15.
24 Tytler, III., p. 254.
25 *Act. Parl. Scot.*, II., p. 14.
26 Theiner—*Monumenta*, pp. 373-375.
27 Raynald—*Annal Eccl.*, ix., year 1436, xxx.
28 *Romance of a King's Life*, pp. 51-55.
29 Dict. Nat. Biog., Art. James I. of Scotland.
30 Raynald, *as above*, xxxii.
3 a *Book of Pluscarden*, I., p. 5.
31 *Romance of a King's Life*, pp. 62 sqq.
32 This has been denied by Riddell—*Inquiry into Peerage and Consistorial Law*, p. 262. But Riddell misinterprets various entries in the *Exchequer Rolls*, vol. vi. James Stewart, brother of the King, is Queen Joan's son by her second husband.
33 *Chronicon*, p. 29. 34 Ibid.
35 See Appendix B—The several accounts of the murder of King James.
36 *Chronicon*, p. 29.

IV

37 *Scotich.*, II., pp. 504-511.
38 *Hist. Greater Brit.*, p. 366. (Scot. Hist. Soc. Ed.)
39 Boece—xvi., c. 16, fol. cccliii., ll. 57, 58. Bellenden—xvi., c. 16.
40 Bale—Scrip. Illust. Catalog., Centuria decima quarta, No. lvi.
40* King James First as a royal author finds a place between Kenneth King of Scots and Henry VIII. (Bishop Montague's preface.)
41 *Hist. Eccl. Scot. Gent.*, II., p. 381.
42 Edition of 1578. It is the last poem in the volume.
43 The MS. is noted by Professor Skeat as Kk. I. 5, fol. 5. A facsimile is given.
44 See Introd., Section II.

II

AUTHENTICITY OF THE QUAIR

1 *Authorship of Kingis Quair*—Maclehose, 1896.
2 *K. Q.* (S. T. S. Ed.), Introd., p. xxv.
3 *Facsimile National MSS. of Scotland*, Part II., No. lxii.
4 *Authorship of K. Q.*, as above, pp. 26, 27.
5 Ibid., p. 30.
6 Ibid., p. 48.
7 Nine poets are mentioned.

8 *History of Scotland*, I., p. 219.
9 Page 23.
10 *Cambridge History of English Literature*—II., p. 243.
11 *The Kingis Quair and the New Criticism.* (A. Brown and Co., Aberdeen, 1898.)
12 *Scottish Vernacular Literature*, pp. 95-102.
13 *Athenæum*, August 15, 1896.
14 *Revue Historique*, vol. lxiv., pp. 1-49.
15 *R. S. H.*—x., c. 57.
16 See above—Introduction I. (iii.).
17 See *K. Q.*, stanza clx., l. 1.
18 *Bruz*, xix., 663, in Edinburgh MS.; also in Ed. MS., 656. Wyntoun, *O. C.*, II., c. x., 917.
19 See Appendix A. "Date of the capture of King James."
20 See above, note 11.
21 See above, Introduction I., iv.
22 Letters of King James in *Red Book of Menteith.*
23 MS. folio 129.
24 Mr. Sidney Lee in Art. Lydgate, Dict. Nat. Biog.
25 Stanza lxxxv., l. 3.
26 Poems I., p. 4 (D'Héricault's edition).
27 Ibid., pp. 13, 97, 104.
28 Ibid., I., pp. 115, 143, 144, 151, 158, 162.
29 Ibid., 62, 63, 76.
30 Ibid., p. 157.
31 Ibid., 163.
32 Ibid., vol. ii., p. 83.
33 Stanzas cxxiii., clxxxvi., cxcvii.
34 Wyntoun, O. C., ix., c. 25.
35 Maitland Club—*Chron. Jac. Prim.*, p. 17.

III

THE QUAIR AND EARLIER AND LATER POETRY.

1 See note *in loco.*
2 O. C., ix., c. 25.
3 Pp. 59, 60.
4 *K. Q.*, note on stanza cxcvii.
5 *K. Q.*, stanza ix.
6 Ibid., stanza lxviii.
7 See H. Wood in *Anglia*, III., pp. 223 sqq
8 Stanzas xxxiii.-xxxvi., lvii.-lxi.
9 Stanzas clxxvii.-clxxix.
10 Ovid, *Metamorph.* xi.
11 *Book of Duchess*, 651-662.
12 Ibid., 708; *K. Q.*, lxx.
13 *Parlement of Foules*, 187-189; *K. Q.*, st. cliii.; *P. F.*, 683; *K. Q.*, st. xxxiv.
14 *H. F.*, III., 94; *K. Q.*, st. lxxvii.
15 *T. C.*, I., 837-840.
16 Ibid., iv., 933-1078.
17 Ibid., I., 416.
18 Ibid., II., 1 sqq.

[19] Ibid., III., 1371.
[20] Ibid., I., 6 sqq.
[21] Ibid., II., 1196.
[22] Ibid., III., 159-161 ; *K. Q.*, st. cxliii.
[23] Ibid., I., 547 ; *K. Q.*, st. xxxi., lxxi., 1.
[24] K. T., 1030-1332.
[25] C. T.—B. 194 ; *K. Q.*, cxcvi.
[26] C. T.—A. 1238 ; C. T.—B. 3330 and *passim*.
[27] N. P. T.
[28] C. T.—A. 3713-4 ; D. 2242 ; G. 782.
[29] C. T.—B. 3914.
[30] C. T.—B. 3685-8 ; *K. Q.*, st. iii. vii.
[31] T. C., I., 778 sqq. ; II., 771 sqq. ; V., 232-243.
[32] Introd. to T. G., cxxxi.-cxxxiii.
[33] *Temple of Glas*, 1-16.
[34] Ibid., 143 sqq.
[35] Ibid., 958-960.
[36] Ibid., 503 sqq.
[37] Ibid., 271 ; *K. Q.*, I., 4.
[38] Ibid., 112, 445 ; *K. Q.*, xcv., 1.
[39] Ibid., 603-4 ; *K. Q.*, cxxxv.
[40] Ibid., 962-3 ; *K. Q.*, xiii., 3.
[41] Ibid., 1393.
[42] See below.
[43] F. C., 50-56 ; *K. Q.*, sts. xxvii., xxxviii., xxxix.
[44] R. and S., 1392 ; *K. Q.*, clx.
[45] Ibid., 1571-3 ; *K. Q.*, xcvii.
[46] Bk. I., 699-718.
[47] *K. Q.*, xxvi.
[48] Ibid., cxcvi.
[49] *K. Q.*, vi., xvi., xxvi.
[50] *L. L.*, 318-334.
[51] *K. Q.*, iii.
[52] Ibid.. vii., 2-4.
[53] Laing says Glasgow, but in the St. Andrews Roll, under year 1471, there is the entry—Jas: Auchlek, pauper.
[54] *Bannatyne Club Miscell.*, ii., 161-2.
[55] *K. Q.*, xiv. ; *Q. J.*, 191.
[56] Small's Ed., i., 12.
[57] *K. Q.*, clxiii.-clxv.
[58] Ibid.
[59] *K. Q.*, i., 4.
[60] Ibid., xlviii., 5.
[61] Ibid., lvii., 6.
[62] Dunbar's Poems, i., 10. (S. T. S. Ed.)
[63] Ibid.
[64] Small's Ed., ii., 17, 18.
[65] Ibid., ii., 171.
[66] *T. and C. of the Papyngo*, 431-2, Laing's Ed., i., 77.
[67] Ibid., 76.
[68] Ibid., 57.
[69] Ibid., p. 17, line 411.
[70] Ibid., 3.
[71] Ibid., p. 16.

[72] Ibid., 189 ; *Squyer Meldrum*, 948-9.
[73] Ibid., 215 ; *Testament of Squyer Meldrum*, 1721-2.
[74] *K. Q.*, lxxxix.

V

LANGUAGE OF THE POEMS

[1] *Conf. Amant.*, i., 2032 ; vii., 813.
[2] C. T., E. 828.
[3] viii., 211 ; xv., 271.
[4] ii., 208 ; iii., 952, in the form "nobillay."

THE KINGIS QUAIR

TEXT AS IN MANUSCRIPT

(1)

Heigh In the hevynnis figure circulere
The rody sterres twynklyng as the fyre
And In Aquary Citherea the clere
Rynsid hir tressis like the goldin wyre
That late tofore in fair and fresche atyre
Through capricorn heved hir hornis bright
North northward approchit the myd nyght

(2)

Quhen as I lay In bed allone waking
New partit out of slepe alyte tofore
Fell me to mynd of many diuerse thing
Off this and that can I noght say quharefore
Bot slepe for craft in erth myght I no more
For quhich as tho coude I no better wyle
Bot toke a boke to rede apon a quhile

(3)

Off quhich the name Is clepit properly
Boece/·eftere him þat was the compiloure
Schewing counsele of philosophye
Compilit by that noble senatoure
Off rome/·quhilom þat was the warldis floure
And from estate by fortune a quhile
Foriugit was to pouert/ in exile

IV

And there to here this worthy lord and clerk,
His metir suete, full of moralitee ;
His flourit pen so fair he set a-werk,
Discryving first of his prosperitee,
And out of that his infelicitee ;
And than how he, in his poleyt report,
In philosophy can him to confort.

V

For quhich though I in purpose, at my boke,
To borowe a slepe at thilkĕ tyme began,
Or euer I stent, my best was more to loke
Vpon the writing of this noble man,
That in him-self the full recouer wan
Off his infortune, pouert, and distresse,
And in tham set his verray sekernesse.

VI

And so the vertew of his ȝouth before
Was in his age the ground of his delytis :
Fortune the bak him turnyt, and therefore
He makith ioye and confort, that he quit is
Off thir vnsekir warldis appetitis ;
And so aworth he takith his penance,
And of his vertew maid it suffisance :

VII

With mony a noble resoun, as him likit,
Enditing in his fäirĕ Latyne tong,
So full of fruyte, and rethorikly pykit,
Quhich to declare my scele is ouer ȝong ;
Therefore I lat him pas, and, in my tong,
Procede I will agayn to the sentence
Off my mater, and leue all incidence.

IV. 2. moralitee ! W.
VI. 5. thir, S.
VII. 5. song (?).
V. 1. Though, S.
VII. 2. fairĕ, S.

(4)

And there to here this worthy lord and clerk
His metir suete full of moralitee
His flourit pen so fair he set awerk
Discryving first of his prosperitee
And out of that his infelicitee
And than how he in his poetly report
In philosophy can him to confort

(5)

For quhich tho*gh*t I in p*ur*pose at my boke
To borowe a slepe at thilke tyme began
Or eu*er* I stent my best was more to loke
Vpon the writing of this noble man
That in him self the full recou*er* wan
Off his infortune pouerti and distress*e*
And in tham set his verray sek*er*ness*e*

(6)

And so the vertew of his 3outh before
Was In his age the ground of his delytis
Fortune the bak him t*ur*nyt. and ther*e*fore
He makith Ioye and confort *pa*t he quitis
Off their vnsekir warldis appetitis
And so aworth he takith his penance
And of his vertew maid It suffisance

(7)

With mony a noble reso*un* as him likit
Enditing in his fair*e* latyne tong
So full of fruyte and rethorly pykit
Quhich to declare my scole is ou*er* 3ong
Ther*e*fore I lat him pas and in my tong
Procede I will agayn to my sentence
Off my mater/·and leue all Incidence

(5) *i* in *pouerti* by later hand.

VIII

The longë nyght beholding, as I saide,
Myn eyen gan to smert for studying;
My buke I schet, and at my hede it laide;
And doune I lay but ony tarying,
This matere new into my mynd rolling;
This is to seyne, how that in eche estate,
As Fortune lykith, thame sche will translate.

IX

For sothe it is, that, on hir tolter quhele,
Euery wight cleuerith into his stage,
And failyng foting oft, quhen hir lest, rele
Sum vp, sum doune; is non estate nor age
Ensured, more the prynce noght than the page:
So vncouthly hir werdes sche deuidith,
Namly in ȝouth, that seildin ought prouidith.

X

Among thir thoughtis rolling to and fro,
Fell me to mynd of my fortune and vre,
In tender ȝouth how sche was first my fo,
And eft my frende, and how I gat recure
Off my distresse, and all myn auenture
I gan oure-hayle; that langer slepe ne rest
Ne myght I nat, so were my wittis wrest.

XI

For-wakit and for-walowit, thus musing,
Wery, forlyin, I lestnyt; sodaynlye
And sone I herd the bell to matynnis ryng,
And vp I rase, no langer wald I lye:
Bot now, how trowe ȝe? suich a fantasye
Fell me to mynd, that ay me-thoght the bell
Said to me, "Tell on, man, quhat the befell."

VIII. 1. The longë, S. VIII. 2. eyën, S.
VIII. 4. bot, S. VIII. 5. newë, S.
VIII. 6. seynë, S. seyen, W. VIII. 7. oft, S.
IX. 3, 4. lest rele, Sum vp, sum doune, S.; punctuation in text, W. W.
IX. 5. prynce, S. noght, W. W.

(8)

The long nyght beholding as I saide
Myn eyne gan to smert for studying
My buke I schet/·and at my hede It laide
And doun I lay but ony tarying
This matere new In my mynd rolling
This is to seyne how þat eche estate
As fortune lykith/thame will translate

(9)

For sothe It is þat on hir tolter quhele
Euery wight cleuerith In his stage
And failyng foting oft quhen hir lest rele
Sum vp/·sum doun · Is non estate nor age
Ensured more the prynce than the page
So vncouthly hir werdes sche deuidith
Namly In 3outh · that seildin ought prouidith

(10)

Among thir thoughtis rolling to and fro
Fell me to mynd of my fortune and vre
In tender 3outh how sche was first my fo
And eft my frende/·and how I gat recure
Off my distresse and all myn auenture
I gan oure hayle/þat langer slepe ne rest
Ne myght I nat/·so were my wittis wrest

(11)

For wakit and forwalowit thus musing
Wery forlyin I lestnyt sodaynlye
And sone I herd the bell to matyns ryng
And vp I rase no langer wald I lye
Bot now how trowe 3e suich a fantasye
Fell me to mynd/·þat ay me thoght the bell
Said to me/·tell on man quhat the befell

XII

Thoght I tho to my-self, "Quhat may this be?
This is myn awin ymagynacioun;
It is no lyf that spekis vnto me;
It is a bell, or that impressioun
Off my thoght causith this illusioun,
That dooth me think so nycely in this wise;'
And so befell as I schall ȝou deuise.

XIII

Determyt furth therewith in myn entent,
Sen I thus haue ymagynit of this soune,
And in my tyme more ink and paper spent
To lyte effect, I tuke conclusioun
Sum new thing for to write; I set me doun,
And furth-with-all my pen in hand I tuke,
And maid a ✠, and thus begouth my buke.

XIV

THOU tendir ȝouth, of nature indegest,
Vnrypit fruyte with windis variable,
Like to the bird that fed is on the nest,
And can noght flee, of wit wayke and vnstable,
To fortune both and to infortune hable,
Wist thou thy payne to cum and thy trauaille,
For sorow and drede wele myght thou wepe and waille.

XV

Thus stant thy confort in vnsekernesse,
And wantis it that suld the reule and gye:
Ryght as the schip that sailith steręles
Vpon the rokkis most to harmes hye,
For lak of it that suld bene hir supplye;
So standis thou here into this warldis rage,
And wantis that suld gyde all thy viage.

XIII. 5. newē, S.
XIV. 1. Thou sely, S.
XV. 4. rokkis, S. (most so to.)

(12)

Thoght I tho to my self quhat may this be
This is myn awin ymagynacioun
It is no lyf þat spekis vnto me
It is a bell or that impressioun
'Off my thoght/'causith this Illusioun
That dooth me think so nycely in this wise
And so befell as I shall 3ou devise

(13)

Determyt furth therewith in myn entent
Sen I thus haue ymagynit of this soun
And in my tyme more Ink and paper spent
To lyte effect I tuke conclusioun
Sum new thing to write I set me doun
And furthwith all my pen In hand I tuke
And maid a ✠/'and thus begouth my buke

(14)

Though 3outh of nature Indegest
Vnrypit fruyte with windis variable
Like to the bird that fed is on the nest
And can noght flee/'of wit wayke and vnstable
To fortune both and to infortune hable
Wist thou thy payne tocum/and thy trauaille
For sorow and drede wele myght thou wepe and waille

(15)

Thus stant thy confort In vnsekernesse
And wantis It þat suld the reule and gye
Ryght as the schip þat sailith stereles
Vpon the rok most to harmes hye
For lak of It þat suld bene hir supplye
So standis thou here In this warldis rage
And wantis þat suld gyde all thy viage

XVI

I mene this by my-self, as in partye;
Though nature gave me suffisance in 3outh,
The rypënesse of resoun lakkit I,
To gouerne with my will; so lyte I couth,
Quhen steröles to trauaile I begouth,
Amang the wawis of this warld to driue;
And how the case, anon I will discriue.

XVII

With doutfull hert, amang the rokkis blake,
My feble bote full fast to stere and rowe,
Helples, allone, the wynter nyght I wake,
To wayte the wynd that furthward suld me throwe.
O empti saile! quhare is the wynd suld blowe
Me to the port, quhar gynneth all my game?
Help, Calyope, and wynd, in Marye name!

XVIII

The rokkis clepe I the prolixitee
Off doubilnesse that doith my wittis pall:
The lak of wynd is the deficultee
In diting of this lytill trety small:
The bote I clepe the mater hole of all,
My wit also the saile that now I wynd
To seke connyng, though I bot lytill fynd.

XIX

At my begynnyng first I clepe and call
To 3ow, Cleo, and to 3ow, Polymye,
With Thesiphone, goddis and sistris all,
In nowmer ix., as bokis specifye;
In this processe my wilsum wittis gye;
And with your bryght lanternis wele conuoye
My pen, to write my turment and my ioye!

XVI. 3. 3it lakit, S. rypënesse of resoun laked I. W.

(16)

I mene this by my self as In partye
Though nature gave me suffisance In ȝouth
The rypenesse of resoun lak I
To gouerne with my will/·so lyte I couth
Quhen stereles to trauaile I begouth
Amang the wawis of this warld to driue
And how the case/anon I will discriue

(17)

With doutfull hert amang the rokkis blake
My feble bote full fast to stere and rowe
Helples allone/the wynter nyght I wake
To wayte the wynd þat furthward suld me throwe
O empti saile quhare is the wynd suld blowe
Me to the port/quhare gynneth all my game
Help Calyope and wynd in Marye name

(18)

The rokkis clepe I the prolixitee
Off doubilnesse : þat doith my wittis pall
The lak of wynd is the deficultee
In enditing of this lytill trety small
The bote I clepe the mater hole of all
My wit vnto the saile þat now I wynd
To seke connyng/· though I bot lytill fynd

(19)

At my begynnyng first I clepe and call
To ȝow Cleo and to ȝow polymye
With Thesiphone goddis and sistris all
In nowmer ix·/as bokis specifye
In this processe my wilsum wittis gye
And with ȝour bryght lanternis wele convoye
My pen · to write my turment and my Ioye

XX

In vere that full of vertu is and gude,
  Quhen Nature first begynneth hir enprise,
That quhilum was be cruell frost and flude
  And schouris scharp opprest in many wyse,
  And Cynthius begynneth to aryse
Heigh in the est, a morow soft and suete,
Vpward his course to driue in Ariete :

XXI

Passit mydday bot foüre greis evin,
  Off lenth and brede his angel wingis bryght
He spred vpon the ground doune fro the hevin ;
  That, for gladnesse and confort of the sight,
  And with the tiklyng of his hete and light,
The tender flouris opnyt thame and sprad,
And, in thaire nature, thankit him forglad.

XXII

Noght fer passit the state of innocence,
  Bot nere about the nowmer of ȝeris thre ;
Were it causit throu hevinly influence
  Off goddis will, or othir casualtee,
  Can I noght say, bot out of my contree,
By thaire avise that had of me the cure,
Be see to pas, tuke I myn auenture.

XXIII

Puruait of all that was vs necessarye,
  With wynd at will, vp airly by the morowe,
Streight vnto schip, no longere wold we tarye,
  The way we tuke, the tyme I tald to-forowe ;
  With mony "fare wele" and "Sanct Iohne to borowe"
Off falowe and frende ; and thus with one assent
We þullit vp saile, and furth oure wayis went.

XX. 5. be, S. 6, 7. point suete, Ariete, W.
XXI. 1. foure, S. (mydway).

(20)

In vere þat full of vertu is/·and gude
Quhen nature first begynneth hir enprise
That quhilum was be cruell frost and flude
And schouris scharp opprest In many wyse
And Synthius gynneth to aryse
Heigh in the est a morow soft and suete
Vpward his course to driue In ariete

(21)

Passit bot mydday foure greis evin
Off lenth and brede his angel wingis bryght
He spred vpon the ground doun fro the hevin
That for gladnesse and ᵛ ~~freschenesse~~ of the sight ᵛ /// confort
And with the tiklyng of his hete and light
The tender flouris opnyt thame and sprad
And in thaire nature thankit him for glad

(22)

Noght fer passit the state of Innocence
Bot nere about the nowmer of 3eris thre
Were It causit throu hevinly Influence
Off goddis will/or othir casualtee
Can I noght say/·bot out of my contree
By thaire avise þat had of me the cure
Be see to pas/·tuke I myn auenture

(23)

Puruait of all þat was vs necessarye
With wynd at will vp airly by the morowe
Streight vnto schip no longere wald we tarye
The way we tuke the tyme I tald toforowe
With mony farewele and sanct Iohne to borowe
Off falowe and frende/·and thus with one assent
We pullit vp saile/and furth oure wayis went

XXIV

Vpon the wawis weltering to and fro,
So infortunate was vs that fremyt day,
That maugre, playnly, quhethir we wold or no,
With strong hand and by forse, schortly to say,
Off inymyis takin and led away
We weren all, and broght in thaire contree ;
Fortune it schupe non othir wayis to be.

XXV

Quhare as in strayte ward and in strong prisoun,
So ferforth of my lyf the heuy lyne,
Without confort, in sorowe abandoune,
The secund sistere lukit hath to twyne,
Nere by the space of ȝeris twiës nyne ;
Till Iupiter his merci list aduert,
And send confort in relesche of my smert.

XXVI

Quhare as in ward full oft I wold bewaille
My dedely lyf, full of peyne and penance,
Saing ryght thus, "Quhat haue I gilt to faille
My fredome in this warld and my plesance ?
Sen euery wight has thereof suffisance,
That I behold, and I a creature
Put from all this—hard is myn auenture !

XXVII

The bird, the beste, the fisch eke in the see,
They lyve in fredome euerich in his kynd ;
And I am man, and lakkith libertee ;
Quhat schall I seyne, quhat resoun may I fynd,
That Fortune suld do so ?" Thus in my mynd
My folk I wold argewe, bot all for noght ;
Was non that myght, that on my peynes rought.

XXIV. 4. as by forse, S. schortëly, or *for* to say, W.
XXV. 5. twiës, S.

(24)

Vpon the wawis welt*er*ing to and fro
So infortunate was vs that fremyt day
That maugre playnly quhethir we wold or no
W*ith* strong hand by fors*e* schortly to say
Off Inymyis takin and led away
We weren all · and brog*h*t in thair*e* contree
Fortune It schupe no͞n othir wayis to be

(25)

Quhare as In strayte ward and in strong p*r*iso*u*n
So ferforth of my lyf the heuy lyne
Without confort in sorowe abandoun
The secund sistere lukit hath to twyne
Nere by the space of ȝer*is* twise nyne
Till Iupit*er* his m*er*ci list aduert
And send confort in relesche of my smert

·(26)

Quhare as In ward full oft I wold bewaille
My dedely lyf full of peyne and penance
Saing ryg*h*t thus/·quhat haue I gilt to faille
My fredome in this warld and my plesance
Sen eu*er*y wyght has thereof suffisance
That I behold/·and I a creature
Put from all this · hard is my*n* au*en*ture

(27)

The bird the beste the fisch eke In the see
They lyve in fredome eu*er*ich In his kynd
And I a man and lakkith libertee
Quhat schall I seyne/·quhat reso*u*n may I fynd
That fortune suld do so/·th*us* in my mynd
My folk I wold argewe/·bot all for nog*h*t
Was no͞n þ*at* myg*h*t/·þ*at* on my peynes rought

XXVIII

Than wold I say, "Gif God me had deuisit
To lyve my lyf in thraldome thus and pyne,
Quhat was the cause that he me more comprisit
Than othir folk to lyve in suich ruyne?
I suffer allone amang the figuris nyne,
Ane wofull wrecche that to no wight may spede,
And ȝit of euery lyvis help hath nede."

XXIX

The longë dayës and the nyghtis eke
I wold bewaille my fortune in this wise,
For quhich, agane distresse confort to seke,
My custum was on mornis for to ryse
Airly as day; O happy excercise!
By the come I to ioye out of turment.
Bot now to purpose of my first entent:—

XXX

Bewailing in my chamber thus allone,
Despeired of all ioye and remedye,
For-tirit of my thoght, and wo-begone,
Unto the wyndow gan I walk in hye,
To se the warld and folk that went forby.
As for the tyme, though I of mirthis fude
Myght haue no more, to luke it did me gude.

XXXI

Now was there maid fast by the touris wall
A gardyn faire, and in the corneris set
Ane herbere grene, with wandis long and small
Railit about; and so with treis set
Was all the place, and hawthorn hegis knet,
That lyf was non y-walking there forby,
That myght within scarse ony wight aspye.

XXVIII. 3. me, S. XXIX. 1. longë, S.
XXXI. 3. grene. With etc., W. 6. y-walking, S. in Introduction to *K. Q.*, p. xxxiii, walkingë, W.

(28)

Than wold I say gif god me had deuisit
To lyve my lyf in thraldome thus/and pyne
Quhat was the cause þat he more comprisit
Than othir folk/to lyve in suich ruyne
I suffer allone amang the figuris nyne
Ane wofull wrecche þat to no wight may spede
And ȝit of euery lyvis help ~~in drede~~* hath nede

(29)

The long dayes and the nyghtis eke
I wold bewaille my fortune in this wise
For quhich agane distresse confort to seke
My custum was on mornis for to ryse
Airly as day/·o happy exercise
By the come I to Ioye out of turment
Bot now to purpose of my first entent

(30)

Bewailing In my chamber thus allone
Despeired of all Ioye and remedye
For tirit of my thoght/and wo begone
And to the wyndow gan I walk In hye
To se the warld and folk þat went forby
As for the tyme/·though I of mirthis fude
Myght haue no more/·to luke It did me gude

(31)

Now was there maid fast by the touris wall
A gardyn faire and in the corneris set
Ane herbere grene with wandis long and small
Railit about/and so with treis set
Was all the place/·and hawthorn hegis knet
That lyf was non walking there forby
That myght within scarse ony wight aspye

* *In drede* is lightly stroked through.

XXXII

So thik the bewis and the leues grene
Beschadit all the aleyes that there were,
And myddis euery herbere myght be sene
The scharpë grenë suetë ienepere,
Growing so faire with branchis here and there,
That, as it semyt to a lyf without,
The bewis spred the herbere all about;

XXXIII

And on the smalë grenë twistis sat
The lytill suetë nyghtingale, and song
So loud and clere the ympnis consecrat
Off lufis vse, now soft, now lowd among,
That all the gardyng and the wallis rong
Ryght of thaire song, and, in the copill next,
Off thaire suete armony, and lo the text:

XXXIV

[CANTUS]

"Worschippeth, ȝe that loueris bene, this May,
For of your blisse the kalendis are begonne,
And sing with vs, away, Winter, away!
Cum, Somer, cum, the suete sesoun and sonne!
Awake for schame! that haue ȝour hevynnis wonne,
And amorously lift vp ȝour hedis all,
Thank Lufe that list ȝou to his merci call."

XXXV

Quhen thai this song had song a lytill thrawe,
Thai stent a quhile, and therewith vnaffraid,
As I beheld and kest myn eyne a-lawe,
From beugh to beugh thay hippit and thai plaid,
And freschly in thaire birdis kynd arraid
Thaire fetheris new, and fret thame in the sonne,
And thankit Lufe, that had thaire makis wonne.

XXXII. 4. scharpë, S.
XXXIII. 1. smallë, S. 2. (nightingales). 6. For *on* S. suggests *of*, but does not put *of* in text.
XXXIV. 1. worschippeth, S. in Notes.
XXXV. 7. (thai had, etc.).

(32)

So thik the bowis and the leues grene
Beschadit all the aleyes þat there were
And myddis euery herbere myght be sene
The scharp grene suete Ienepere
Growing so faire with branchis here and there
That as It semyt to a lyf without
The bewis spred the herbere all about

(33)

And on the small grene twistis sat
The lytill suete nyghtingale and song
So loud and clere the ympnis consecrat
Off lufis vse/·now soft/·now lowd among
That all the gardyng and the wallis rong
Ryght of thaire song·and on the copill next
Off thaire suete armony and lo the text

(34)

Worschippe ȝe þat loueris bene this may
For of ȝour blisse the kalendis ar begonne
And sing with vs away winter away
Cum somer cum/·the suete sesoun and sonne
Awake for schame þat haue ȝour hevynnis wonne
And amorously lift vp ȝour hedis all
Thank lufe þat list ȝou to his merci call

(35)

Quhen thai this song had song a lytill thrawe
Thai stent a quhile/·and therewith vnaffraid
As I beheld and kest myn eyne a lawe
From beugh to beugh thay hippit and thai plaid
And freschly in thaire birdis kynd arraid
Thaire fetheris new/·and fret thame In the sonne
And thankit lufe þat had thaire makis wonne

XXXVI

This was the planë ditee of thaire note,
And there-with-all vnto my-self I thoght,
"Quhat lyf is this, that makis birdis dote?
Quhat may this be, how cummyth it of ought?
Quhat nedith it to be so dere ybought?
It is nothing, trowe I, bot feynit chere,
And that men list to counterfeten chere."

XXXVII

Eft wald I think; "O Lord, quhat may this be?
That Lufe is of so noble myght and kynde,
Lufing his folk, and suich prosperitee
Is it of him, as we in bukis fynd?
May he oure hertes setten and vnbynd?
Hath he vpon oure hertis suich maistrye?
Or is all this bot feynyt fantasye?

XXXVIII

For gif he be of so grete excellence,
That he of euery wight hath cure and charge,
Quhat haue I gilt to him or doon offense,
That I am thrall, and birdis gone at large,
Sen him to serue he myght set my corage?
And gif he be noght so, than may I seyne,
Quhat makis folk to iangill of him in veyne?

XXXIX

Can I noght elles fynd, bot gif that he
Be lord, and as a god may lyue and regne,
To bynd and louse, and maken thrallis free?
Than wold I pray his blisfull grace benigne,
To hable me vnto his seruice digne,
And euermore for to be one of tho
Him trewly for to serue in wele and wo.

XXXVII. 5. (knetten). 7. Is all this? W.

(36)

This was the plane ditee of thaire note
And therewithall vnto my self I thoght
Quhat lyf is this/þat makis birdis dote
Quhat may this be/·how cummyth It of ought
Quhat nedith It tobe so dere ybought
It is nothing trowe I·bot feynit chere
And þat men list to counterfeten chere

(37)

Eft wald I think·o lord quhat may this be
That lufe is of so noble myght and kynde
Lufing his folk/and suich prosperitee
Is It of him·as we in bukis fynd
May he oure hertis setten and vnbynd
Hath he vpon oure hertis suich maistrye
Or all this is bot feynit fantasye

(38)

For gif he be of so grete excellence
That he of euery wight hath cure and charge
Quhat haue I gilt to him/·or doon offense
That I am thrall and birdis gone at large
Sen him to serue he myght set my corage
And gif he be noght so/·than may I seyne
Quhat makis folk to Iangill of him In veyne

(39)

Can I noght elles fynd bot gif þat he
Be lord/and and as a god may lyue and regne
To bynd and louse and maken thrallis free
Than wald I pray his blisful grace benigne
To hable me vnto his seruice digne
And euermore for to be one of tho
Him trewly for to serue In wele and wo

XL

And there-with kest I doune myn eye ageyne,
Quhare as I sawe, walking vnder the toure,
Full secretly, new cummyn hir to pleyne,
The fairest and the freschest ȝongë floure
That euer I sawe, me-thoght, before that houre;
For quhich sodayn abate anon astert
The blude of all my body to my hert.

XLI

And though I stude abaisit tho a lyte,
No wonder was; for quhy, my wittis all
Were so ouercome with plesance and delyte,
Onely throu latting of myn eyën fall,
That sudaynly my hert became hir thrall
For euer, of free wyll; for of manace
There was no takyn in hir suetë face.

XLII

And in my hede I drewe ryght hastily,
And eft-sonës I lent it forth ageyne,
And sawe hir walk, that verray womanly,
With no wight mo, bot onely wommen tueyne.
Than gan I studye in my-self, and seyne:
"A! suete, ar ȝe a warldly creature,
Or hevinly thing in liknesse of nature?

XLIII

Or ar ȝe god Cupidis owin princesse,
And cummyn are to louse me out of band?
Or ar ȝe verray Nature, the goddesse,
That haue depayntit with ȝour hevinly hand
This gardyn full of flouris, as they stand?
Quhat sall I think, allace! quhat reuerence
Sall I minister to ȝour excellence?

XL. 4. ȝongë, S.
XLIII. 7. minister, S.

(40)

And therewith kest I doun myn eye ageyne
Quhare as I sawe walking vnder the toure
Full secretly new cummyn hir to pleyne
The fairest/or the freschest 3ong floure
That euer I sawe/me thoght before that houre
For quhich sodayn abate anon astert
The blude of all my body to my hert

(41)

And though I stude abaisit tho alyte
No wonder was for quhy my wittis all
Were so ouercom with plesance and delyte
Onely throu latting of myn eyen fall
That sudaynly my hert became hir thrall
For euer of free wyll for of manace
There was no takyn in hir suete face

(42)

And In my hede I drewe ryght hastily
And eft sones I lent It forth ageyne
And sawe hir walk that verray womanly
With no wight mo bot only wommen tueyne
Than gan* gan I studye in my self and seyne
A suete ar 3e a warldly creature
Or hevinly thing in liknesse of nature

(43)

Or ar 3e god Cupidis owin princesse
And cummyn are to louse me out of band
Or ar 3e verray nature the goddesse
That haue depaynted with 3our hevinly hand
This gardyn full of flouris as thay stand
Quhat sall I thiṅk allace quhat reuerence
Sall I minster to 3our excellence

* Written and stroked through.

XLIV

Gif ȝe a goddesse be, and that ȝe like
To do me payne, I may it noght astert;
Gif ȝe be warldly wight, that dooth me sike,
Quhy lest God mak ȝou so, my derest hert,
To do a sely prisoner thus smert,
That lufis ȝow all, and wote of noght bot wo?
And therefore, merci, suete! sen it is so."

XLV

Quhen I a lytill thrawe had maid my moon,
Bewailling myn infortune and my chance,
Vnknawin how or quhat was best to doon,
So ferre I fallyng was into lufis dance,
That sodeynly my wit, my contenance,
My hert, my will, my nature, and my mynd,
Was changit clene ryght in an-othir kynd.

XLVI

Off hir array the form gif I sall write
Toward hir goldin haire and rich atyre,
It fret-wise couchit was with perllis quhite
And gretë balas lemyng as the fyre,
With mony ane emeraut and faire saphyre;
And on hir hede a chaplet fresch of hewe,
Off plumys partit rede, and quhite, and blewe;

XLVII

And full of quaking spangis bryght as gold,
Forgit of schap like to the amorettis,
So new, so fresch, so plesant to behold,
The plumys eke like to the floure-ionettis,
And othir of schap like to the violettis,
And, aboue all this, there was, wele I wote,
Beautee eneuch to mak a world to dote.

XLV. 4. so ferre I fallyng was in, W. W. XLVI. 3. was, S.
XLVII. 1. quakingë, W. 5. schap like to the round crokettis, S.

(44)

Gif ȝe a goddesse be·and þat ȝe like
To do me payne/·I may It noght astert
Gif ȝe be warldly wight þat dooth me sike
Quhy lest god mak ȝou so my derest hert
To do a sely prisoner thus smert
That lufis ȝow all/·and wote of noght bot wo
And therefore merci suete sen It is so

(45)

Quhen I a lytill thrawe had maid my moon
Bewailing myn infortune and my chance
Vnknawin how/or quhat was best to doon
So fer I fallyng Into lufis dance
That sodeynly my wit/my contenance
My hert my will·/my nature and my mynd
Was changit clene ryght In an othir kynd

(46)

Off hir array the form gif I sall write
Toward hir goldin haire and rich atyre
In fret wise couchit with perllis quhite
And grete balas lemyng as the fyre
With mony ane emeraut and faire saphyre
And on hir hede a chaplet fresch of hewe
Off plumys partit rede and quhite and blewe

(47)

Full of quaking spangis bryght as gold
Forgit of schap like to the amorettis
So new so fresch so plesant to behold
The plumys eke like to the floure Ionettis
And othir of schap like to the floure Ionettis
And aboue all this/·there was wele I wote
Beautee eneuch to mak a world to dote

XLVIII

About hir nek, quhite as the fyre amaille,
A gudely cheyne of smale orfeuerye,
Quhareby there hang a ruby, without faille,
Lyke to ane hert y-schapin verily,
That, as a sperk of lowe, so wantonely
Semyt birnyng vpon hir quhytë throte;
Now gif there was gud partye, God it wote!

XLIX

And for to walk that freschë Mayes morowe,
An huke sche had vpon hir tissew quhite,
That gudeliare had noght bene sene toforowe,
As I suppose; and girt sche was a lyte,
Thus halflyng louse for haste; lo! suich delyte
It was to see hir ȝouth in gudelihede,
That for rudenes to speke thereof I drede.

L

In hir was ȝouth, beautee, with humble aport,
Bountee, richesse, and wommanly facture,
(God better wote than my pen can report)
Wisedome, largesse, estate, and connyng sure.
In euery poynt so guydit hir mesure
In word, in dede, in schap, in contenance,
That nature myght no more hir childe auance.

LI

Throw quhich anon I knew and vnderstude
Wele that sche was a warldly creature,
On quhom to rest myn eyë, so mich gude
It did my wofull hert, I ȝow assure,
That it was to me ioye without mesure;
And, at the last, my luke vnto the hevin
I threwe furthwith, and said thir versis sevin:

XLVIII. 1. (fyne). 4. hertë, S. XLIX. 5. of suich delyte, S. in notes.
L. 3, 4, 5. pointing as in W. W.; S. points "report : sure In euery poynt . . . measure,"
LI. 3. (myn eye, so mekill gude.)

(48)

About hir neck quhite as the fyre amaille
A gudely cheyne of smale orfeuerye
Quhareby there hang a ruby without faille
Lyke to ane hert schapin verily
That as a sperk of lowe so wantonly
Semyt birnyng vpon hir quhyte throte
Now gif there was gud partye god It wote

(49)

And for to walk that fresche mayes morowe
An huke sche had vpon hir tissew quhite
That gudeliare had noght bene sene toforowe
As I suppose/and girt sche was alyte
Thus halflyng louse for haste to suich delyte
It was to see hir 3outh In gudelihede
That for rudenes to speke thereof I drede

(50)

In hir was 3outh beautee with humble aport
Bountee richesse and wommanly facture
God better wote than my pen can report
Wisedome largesse estate and connyng sure
In euery poynt/so guydit hir mesure
In word in dede in schap in contenance
That nature myght no more hir childe auance

(51)

Throw quhich anon I knew and vnderstude
Wele/þat sche was a warldly creature
On quhom to rest myn eye/so mich gude
It did my wofull hert/I 3ow assure
That It was to me Ioye without mesure
And at the last my luke vnto the hevin
I threwe furthwith/and said thir versis sevin

LII

"O Venus clere! of goddis stellifyit!
To quhom I ȝelde homage and sacrifise,
Fro this day forth ȝour grace be magnifyit,
That me ressauit haue into suich wise,
To lyve vnder ȝour law and do seruise;
Now help me furth, and for your merci lede
My hert to rest, that deis nere for drede."

LIII

Quhen I with gude entent this orisoun
Thus endit had, I stynt a lytill stound;
And eft myn eye full pitously adoune
I kest, behalding vnto hir lytill hound,
That with his bellis playit on the ground;
Than wold I say, and sigh there-with a lyte,
"A! wele were him that now were in thy plyte!"

LIV

An-othir quhile the lytill nyghtingale,
That sat apon the twiggis, wold I chide,
And say ryght thus, "Quhare are thy notis smale,
That thou of loue has song this morowe-tyde?
Seis thou noght hire that sittis the besyde?
For Venus sake, the blisfull goddesse clere,
Sing on agane, and mak my lady chere.

LV

And eke I pray, for all the paynes grete,
That, for the loue of Proigne thy sister dere,
Thou sufferit quhilom, quhen thy brestis wete
Were, with the teres of thyne eyën clere,
All bludy ronne; that pitee was to here
The crueltee of that vnknyghtly dede,
Quhare was fro the bereft thy maidenhede,

LII. 4. a wise, S. LIII. 4. to hir, S. Introd., p. xxxviii.
LV. 7. (Quhan.)

(52)

O ven*us* clere of goddis stellifyit
To quhom I ȝelde homage and sacrifis*e*
Fro this day forth ȝo*ur* grace be magnifyit
That me ressauit haue in suich wise
To lyve vnd*er* ȝo*ur* law/·and do seruis*e*
Now help me furth/·and for ȝo*ur* m*er*ci lede
My hert to rest/þ*at* deis nere for drede

(53)

Quhen I w*ith* gude entent this orisou*n*
Thus endit had/·I stynt a lytill stound
And eft my*n* eye full pitously adoun
I kest/·behalding vnto hir lytill hound
That w*ith* his bellis playit on the ground
Than wold I say/·and sigh therew*ith* a lyte
A wele were him þ*at* now were In thy plyte

(54)

An othir quhile the lytill nyghtingale
That sat apon the twiggis wold I chide
And say ryg*h*t thus/·*quhar*e ar*e* thy notis smale
That thou of loue has song this morowe tyde
Seis thou no*gh*t hir*e* þ*at* sittis the besyde
For ven*us* sake the blisfull goddesse clere
Sing on agane/and mak my lady chere

(55)

And eke I pray for all the paynes grete
That for the loue of proigne thy sist*er* dere
Thou sufferit quhilom quhen thy brestis wete
Were with the teres of thyne eyen clere
All bludy ronne þ*at* pitee was to here
The crueltee of that vnkny*gh*tly dede
Quhare was fro the bereft thy maidenhede

* This marking is very faint.

LVI

Lift vp thyne hert, and sing with gude entent;
And in thy notis suete the tresoun telle,
That to thy sister trewe and innocent
Was kythit by hir husband false and fell;
For quhois gilt, as it is worthy wel,
Chideth thir husbandis that are false, I say,
And bid thame mend, in twenty deuil way.

LVII

O lytill wrecch, allace! maist thou noght se
Quho commyth ȝond? Is it now tyme to wring?
Quhat sory thoght is fallin vpon the?
Opyn thy throte; hastow no lest to sing?
Allace! sen thou of resoun had felyng,
Now, suetë bird, say ones to me 'pepe':
I dee for wo; me think thou gynnis slepe.

LVIII

Hastow no mynde of lufe? Quhare is thy make?
Or artow seke, or smyt with ielousye?
Or is sche dede, or hath sche the forsake?
Quhat is the cause of thy malancolye,
That thou no more list maken melodye?
Sluggart, for schame! lo here thy goldin houre,
That worth were halë all thy lyvis laboure!

LIX

Gyf thou suld sing wele euer in thy lyve,
Here is, in fay, the tyme, and eke the space:
Quhat wostow than? sum bird may cum and stryve
In song with the, the maistry to purchace.
Suld thou than cesse, it were grete schame, allace!
And here to wyn gree happily for euer,
Here is the tyme to syng, or ellis neuer."

LVI. 7. a twenty deuil, S. in notes. LIX. 7. (Now is.)

(56)

Lift vp thyne hert/·and sing *with* gude entent
And in thy no* notis suete the tresoun telle
That to thy sist*er* trewe and Innocent
Was kythit by hir husband fals*e* and fell
For quhois gilt/·as It is worthy wel
Chide thir husbandis þ*at* are false I say
And bid thame mend in the xx*t*ij deuil way

(57)

O lytill wrecch allace maist thou no*gh*t se
Quho co*m*myth 3ond/·Is It now tyme to wring
Quhat sory tho*gh*t is fallin vpon the
Opyn thy throte hastow no lest to sing
Allace sen thou of resoun had felyng
Now suete bird say ones to me pepe
I dee for wo/·me think thou gy*n*nis slepe

(58)

Hastow no mynde of lufe/·quhare is thy make
Or artow seke/·or smyt *with* Ielousye
Or Is sche dede or hath sche the forsake
Quhat is the caus*e* of thy malancolye
That thou no more list maken melodye
Sluggart for schame lo here thy goldin hour*e*
That worth were hale all thy lyvis laboure

(59)

Gyf thou suld sing wele eu*er* in thy lyve
Here is in fay the tyme and eke the space
Quhat wostow than sum bird may cum and stryve
In song *with* the/·the maistry to pur*ch*ace
Suld thou than cesse/·It were grete schame allace
And here to wyn gree happily for eu*er*
Here is the tyme to syng/· or ellis neu*er*

* Written and stroked through.

LX

I thoght eke thus, gif I my handis clap,
Or gif I cast, than will sche flee away;
And gif I hald my pes, than will sche nap;
And gif I crye, sche wate noght quhat I say:
Thus, quhat is best, wate I noght be this day:
Bot, blawe wynd, blawe, and do the leuis schake,
That sum twig may wag, and mak hir to wake.

LXI

With that anon ryght sche toke vp a sang
Quhare come anon mo birdis and alight;
Bot than to here the mirth was thame amang!
Ouer that to, to see the suetë sicht
Off hyr ymage! my spirit was so light
Me-thoght I flawe for ioye without arest,
So were my wittis boundin all to fest.

LXII

And to the notis of the philomene,
Quhilkis sche sang, the ditee there I maid
Direct to hire that was my hertis quene,
Withoutin quhom no songis may me glade;
And to that sanct, walking into the schade,
My bedis thus, with humble hert entere,
Deuotëly I said on this manere:

LXIII

"Quhen sall 3our merci rew vpon 3our man,
Quhois seruice is 3it vncouth vnto 3ou?
Sen, quhen 3e go, ther is noght ellis than.
Bot, 'Hert! quhere as the body may noght throu,
Folow thy hevin! Quho suld be glad bot thou
That suich a gyde to folow has vndertake?
Were it throu hell, the way thou noght forsake!'"

LX. 7. (Sum twig may wag, and mak hir to awake).
LXI. 1. sche, S. Pointing in 3, 4, 5, W. W.
LXII. 5. there, S. 7. Deuotly than, S. (deuoitly). (Rycht deuotly).

(60)

I thoght eke thus gif I my handis clap
Or gif I cast/·than will sche flee away
And gif I hald me pes/·than will sche nap
And gif I crye/·sche wate no*gh*t quhat I say
Thus quhat is best/wate I no*gh*t be this day
Bot blawe wynd blawe/and do the leuis schake
That sum twig may wag/·and mak hir to wake

(61)

With that anon̄ ry*gh*t he toke vp a sang
Quhare com̄ anon̄ mo birdis and alight
Bot than to here the mirth was tha*m* amang
Ou*er* that to/·to see the suete sicht
Off hyr ymage/·my spirit was so light
Me tho*gh*t I flawe for Ioye w*ith*out arest
So were my wittis boundin all to fest

(62)

And to the notis of the philomene
Quhilk*is* sche sang/·the ditee there I maid
Direct to hir*e* þ*at* was my hertis quene
Withoutin quhom no songis may me glade
And to that sanct walking in the schade
My bedis thus with humble hert entere
Deuotly I said on this manere

(63)

Quhen sall 3o*ur* m*er*ci rew vpon 3o*ur* man
Quhois s*er*uice is 3it vncouth vnto 3ow
Sen quhen 3e go/·ther*e* is no*gh*t ellis than
Bot hert quhere as the body may no*gh*t throu
Folow thy hevin/·quho suld be glad/bot thou
That suich a gyde to folow has vnd*er*take
Were It throu hell the way thou no*gh*t forsake

LXIV

And efter this the birdis euerichone
Tuke vp an-othir sang full loud and clere,
And with a voce said, "Wele is vs begone,
That with oure makis are togider here;
We proyne and play without dout and dangere,
All clothit in a soyte full fresch and newe,
In lufis seruice besy, glad, and trewe.

LXV

And ȝe, fresche May, ay mercifull to briddis,
Now welcum be ȝe, floure of monethis all;
For noght onely ȝour grace vpon vs byddis,
Bot all the warld to witnes this we call,
That strowit hath so playnly ouer all
With newë, freschë, suete and tender grene,
Oure lyf, oure lust, oure gouernoure, oure quene."

LXVI

This was thair song, as semyt me full heye,
With full mony vncouth suete note and schill,
And therewith-all that faire vpward hir eye
Wold cast amang, as it was Goddis will,
Quhare I myght se, standing allane full still,
The fair facture that nature, for maistrye,
In hir visage wroght had full lufingly.

LXVII

And, quhen sche walkit had a lytill thrawe
Vnder the suetë grenë bewis bent,
Hir faire fresche face, as quhite as ony snawe,
Scho turnyt has, and furth hir wayis went.
Bot tho began myn axis and turment
To sene hir part; and folowe I na myght:
Me-thoght the day was turnyt into nyght.

LXV. 6. newë, S. LXVI. 2. (With mony uncouth suetë.)

(64)

And eft*er* this the birdis eu*er*ichone
Tuke vp an̄ othir sang full loud and clere
And w*ith* a voce said wele is vs begone
That with our*e* makis ar togid*er* here
We proyne and play/·w*ith*out dout and dangere
All clothit in a soyte full fresche and newe
In lufis s*er*uice/þesy glad and trewe

(65)

And ȝe fresche may ay m*er*cifull to bridis
Now welcum be ȝe flour*e* of monethis all
For no*gh*t onely ȝo*ur* grace vpon vs bydis
Bot all the warld to witnes this we call
That strowit hath so playnly ou*er* all
With new fresche suete and tend*er* grene
Oure lyf/oure lust/·oure gou*er*nour*e* oure quene

(66)

This was thair song as semyt me full heye
W*ith* full mony vncouth suete note a*nd* schill
And therew*ith* all that fair*e* vpward hir eye
Wold cast amang/·as It was goddis will
Quhare I my*gh*t se standing allane full still
The fair*e* factur*e* þat nature for maistrye
In hir visage wro*gh*t had full lufingly

(67)

And quhen sche walkit had a lytill thrawe
Vnd*er* the suete grene bewis bent
Hir faire fresche face as quhite as ony snawe
Scho t*ur*nyt has/·and furth hir wayis went
Bot tho began my*n* axis and turment
To sene hir part/·and folowe I na my*gh*t
Me tho*gh*t the day was t*ur*nyt into ny*gh*t

LXVIII

Than said I thus, "Quhare-vnto lyve I langer?
Wofullest wicht, and subject vnto peyne!
Of peyne? no! God wote, ȝa: for thay no stranger
May wirken ony wight, I dare wele seyne.
How may this be, that deth and lyf, bothe tueyne,
Sall bothe atonis in a creature
Togidder duell, and turment thus nature?

LXIX

I may noght ellis done bot wepe and waile,
With-in thir caldë wallis thus i-lokin;
From hennesfurth my rest is my trauaile,
My dryë thrist with teris sall I slokin,
And on my-self bene al my harmys wrokin:
Thus bute is none; bot Venus, of hir grace,
Will schape remede, or do my spirit pace.

LXX

As Tantalus I trauaile, ay but-les,
That euer ylikë hailith at the well
Water to draw with buket botemles,
And may noght spede; quhois penance is an hell:
So be my-self this tale I may wele tell:
For vnto hir that herith noght I pleyne;
Thus like to him my trauaile is in veyne."

LXXI

So sore thus sighit I with my-self allone,
That turnyt is my strenth in febilnesse,
My wele in wo, my frendis all in fone,
My lyf in deth, my lyght into dirknesse,
My hope in feere, in dout my sekirnesse,
Sen sche is gone: and God mote hir conuoye,
That me may gyde to turment and to ioye!

LXVIII. 1. Quhare-unto, S. LXIX. 2. caldë, S. 3. hennësfurth, S.

(68)

Than said I thus/·quhareto lyve I lang*er*
Wofullest wicht/and subiect vnto peyne
Of peyne no god wote ȝa·for thay no stranger
May wirken ony wight/I dar*e* wele seyne
How may this be/·þ*a*t deth and lyf bothe tueyne
Sall bothe atonis in a creature
Togidd*er* duell and t*ur*ment thus nature

(69)

I may no*gh*t ellis done/bot wepe and waile
Within thir cald wallis th*us* I lokin
From hen*n*sfurth my rest is my trauaile
My drye thrist w*ith* ter*is* sall I slokin
And on my self bene all my harmys wrokin
Thus bute is none/·bot ven*us* of hir grace
Will schape remede/·or do my spirit pace

(70)

As Tantalus I trauaile ay but les
That eu*er* ylike hailith at the well
Water to draw w*ith* buket botemles
And may no*gh*t spede/quhois penance is a͞n hell
So by myself this tale I may wele telle
For vnto hir þ*a*t herith no*gh*t I pleyne
Thus like to him my trauaile Is Inveyne

(71)

So sore thus sighit I w*ith* my self allone
That t*ur*nyt is my strenth In febilnesse
My wele in wo/my frendis all in fone
My lyf in deth/my ly*gh*t into derknesse
My hope in feere/·in dout my sekirnesse
Sen sche is gone/·and god mote hir conuoye
That me may gyde to t*ur*ment/*and* to Ioye

LXXII

The long day thus gan I to prye and poure,
Till Phebus endit had his bemes bryght,
And bad go farewele euery lef and floure,
This is to say, approchen gan the nyght,
And Esperus his lampis gan to light;
Quhen in the wyndow, still as any stone,
I bade at lenth, and, kneling, maid my mone

LXXIII

So lang till evin, for lak of myght and mynd,
For-wepit and for-pleynit pitously.
Ourset so sorow had bothe hert and mynd,
That to the coldë stone my hede on wrye
I laid, and lent, amaisit verily,
Half sleping and half suoun, in suich a wise:
And quhat I met, I will 3ou now deuise.

LXXIV

Me-thoght that thus all sodeynly a lyght
In at the wyndow come quhare that I lent,
Off quhich the chambere-wyndow schone full bryght,
And all my body so it hath ouerwent,
That of my sicht the vertew hale iblent;
And therewith-all a voce vnto me saide,
"I bring confort and hele, be noght affrayde."

LXXV

And furth anon it passit sodeynly,
Quhere it come in, the ryghtë way ageyne;
And sone, me-thoght, furth at the dure in hye
I went my weye, nas nothing me ageyne.
And hastily, by bothe the armes tueyne,
I was araisit vp in-to the aire,
Clippit in a cloude of cristall clere and faire,

LXXII. 1. longë, S. 2. (I-hid). 4. approchen, S. 7. mone. S. points thus.
LXXIII. 1, 2. evin, for lak etc. . . . pitously, S. points thus: pointing in text, W. W. 4. coldë, S.
LXXIV. 3. chambere (wallis). 5. it blent, W. 7. I bring confort, W.
LXXV. 2. ryghtë, S. 7. faire. S.; faire, W. W.

(72)

The long day thus gan I prye and poure
Till phebus endit had his bemes bryght
And bad go farewele euery ly* lef and floure
This is to say/·approch gan the nyght
And Esperus his lampis gan to light
Quhen in the wyndow still as any stone
I bade at lenth/·and kneling maid my mone

(73)

So lang till evin for lak of myght and mynd
Forwepit/and forpleynit pitously
Ourset so/sorow had bothe hert and mynd
That to the cold stone my hede on wrye
I laid/·and lent amaisit verily
Half sleping/and half suoun̄ In suich a wise
And quhat I met I will 3ou now deuise

(74)

Me thoght þat thus all sodeynly a lyght
In at the wyndow come quhare þat I lent
Off quhich the chambere wyndow schone full bryght
And all my body so It hath ouerwent
That of my sicht the vertew hale Iblent
And that withall a voce vnto me saide
I bring the confort and hele/be noght affrayde

(75)

And furth anon̄ It passit sodeynly
Quhere It come In·the ryght way ageyne
And sone me thoght furth at the dure in hye
I went my weye/·nas nothing me ageyne
And hastily by bothe the armes tueyne
I was araisit vp in to the aire
Clippit in a cloude of cristall clere and faire

* So written in MS.

LXXVI

Ascending vpward ay fro spere to spere,
Through aire and watere and the hotë fyre,
Till that I come vnto the circle clere
Off Signifere, quhare faïre, bryght, and schire,
The signis schone; and in the glade empire
Off blissfull Venus, quhar ane cryit "Now"
So sudaynly, almost I wist noght how.

LXXVII

Of quhich the palace, quhen I com there a-nye,
Was all, me-thoght, of cristall stonis wroght,
And to the port I liftit was in hye,
Quhare sodaynly, as quho sais, at a thoght,
It opnyt, and I was anon in broght
Within a chamber, large, and rowm, and faire;
And there I fand of peple grete repaire.

LXXVIII

This is to seyne, that present in that place
Me-thoght I sawe of euery nacioun
Loueris that endit had thaire lyfis space
In lovis seruice, mony a mylioun,
Off quhois chancis maid is mencioun
In diuerse bukis, quho thame list to se;
And therefore here thaire namys lat I be.

LXXIX

The quhois auenture and grete labouris
Aboue thaire hedis writin there I fand;
This is to seyne, martris and confessouris,
Ech in his stage, and his make in his hand;
And therewith-all thir peple sawe I stand,
With mony a solempnit contenance,
After as Lufe thame lykit to auance.

LXXVI. 6. quhar, S. —now, S.
LXXVII. 1. quhenas, S. placë, W. 4. sais, W. W.
LXXVIII. 3. endit had, S.
LXXIX. 6. solempnit, S.; solempnë, W.

(76)

Ascending vpward ay fro spere to spere
Through air*e* and water*e* and the hote fyre
Till þat I come vnto the circle clere
Off Signifer*e* quhare fair*e* bry*ght* and schire
The signis schone/·and in the glade empire
Off blisfull ven*us*/ane cryit now
So sudaynly/almost I wist no*gh*t how

(77)

Off quhich the place quhen I com̄ there nye
Was all·me tho*gh*t/·of cristall stonis wro*gh*t
And to the port I liftit was In hye
Quhare sodaynly/·as quho sais at a tho*gh*t
It opnyt/·and I was anon In bro*gh*t
W*ith*in a chamb*er* large rowm and fair*e*
And there I fand of peple grete repair*e*

(78)

·This is to seyne/·þat pr*e*sent in that place
Me tho*gh*t I sawe of eu*e*ry nacio*un*
Louer*is* þat endit thair*e* lyfis space
In lovis s*e*ruice/·mony a mylio*un*
Off quhois chanc*is* maid is m*e*ncio*un*
In diu*e*rse buk*is* quho thame list to se
And therefor*e* here thair*e* namys lat I be

(79)

The quhois auen̄ture and grete labour*is*
Aboue thair*e* hedis writin there I fand
This is to seyne martris and confessour*is*
Ech in his stage and his make in his hand
And there*with*all/thir peple sawe I stand
W*ith* mony a solempt contenance
After as lufe thame lykit hád* to auance

* A very faint attempted stroking out of *had*.

LXXX

Off gudë folkis, that faire in lufe befill,
There saw I sitt in order by thame one
With hedis hore; and with thame stude Gude-will
To talk and play. And after that anon
Besydë thame and next there saw I gone
Curage, amang the freschë folkis ȝong,
And with thame playit full merily and song.

LXXXI

And in ane-othir stage, endlong the wall,
There saw I stand, in capis wyde and lang,
A full grete nowmer; bot thaire hudis all,
Wist I noght quhy, atoure their eyën hang;
And ay to thame come Repentance amang,
And maid thame chere, degysit in his wede:
And dounward efter that ȝit I tuke hede.

LXXXII

Ryght ouerthwert the chamber was there drawe
A trevesse thin and quhite, all of plesance,
The quhich behyndë, standing, there I sawe
A warld of folk, and by thaire contenance
Thaire hertis semyt full of displesance,
With billis in thaire handis, of one assent
Vnto the iuge thaire playntis to present.

LXXXIII

And there-with-all apperit vnto me
A voce, and said, "Tak hede, man, and behold:
ȝond there thou seis the hiest stage and gree
Off agit folk, with hedis hore and olde;
ȝone were the folke that neuer changë wold
In lufe, bot trewly seruit him alway,
In euery age, vnto thaire ending-day.

LXXX. 5. Besydis, S.
LXXXII. 3. behyndë, W. W.; y-standing, S. in Introd., p. xxxiii.
LXXXIII. 3. ȝonder thou seis, S.; ȝond there, W. 5. changë, S.

(80)

Off gude folk*is* þ*at* fair*e* In lufe befill
There saw I sitt in ord*er* by thame one
W*ith* hedis hore/.and with thame stude gude will
To talk and play/·and aft*er* that anon̄
Besyde thame/·and next there saw I gone
Curage amang the fresche folk*is* ȝong
And w*ith* thame playit full merily and song

(81)

And In ane othir stage endlong the wall
There saw I stand in capis wyde and lang
A full grete nowm*er*/bot thair*e* hudis all
Wist I no*gh*t quhy/atour*e* thair eyen hang
And ay to thame come repe*n*tance amang
And maid thame chere degysit in his wede
And dounward eft*er* that/·ȝit I tuke hede

(82)

Ry*gh*t ou*er*thwert the chamb*er* was there drawe
A trevess*e* thin and quhite all of plesance
The quhich behynd standing there I sawe
A warld of folk/·*and* by theire contenance
Thair*e* hertis semyt full of displesance
W*ith* billis in thair*e* handis of one assent
Vnto the Iuge thair*e* playntis to pr*e*sent

(83)

And therew*ith*all/apperit vnto me
A voce/·*and said tak hede man/and behold
ȝond*er* there thou seis the hiest stage and gree
Off agit folk w*ith* hedis hore and olde
ȝone were the folke þ*at* neu*er* change wold
In lufe bot trewly s*er*uit him alway
In eu*er*y age vnto thair*e* ending day

* Very faint.

LXXXIV

For fro the tyme that thai coud vnderstand
The exercise, of lufis craft the cure,
Was none on lyve that toke so moch on hand
For lufis sake, nor langer did endure
In lufis seruice; for, man, I the assure,
Quhen thay of ȝouth ressauit had the fill,
ȝit in thaire age thame lakkit no gude will.

LXXXV

Here bene also of suich as in counsailis
And all thare dedis, were to Venus trewe;
Here bene the princis, faucht the grete batailis,
In mynd of quhom ar maid the bukis newe,
Here bene the poetis that the sciencis knewe,
Throwout the warld, of lufe in thaire suete layes,
Suich as Ouide and Omere in thaire dayes.

LXXXVI

And efter thame adown in the next stage,
There as thou seis the ȝongë folkis pleye:
Lo! thise were thay that, in thaire myddill age,
Seruandis were to Lufe in mony weye,
And happinnit diuersely for to deye;
Sum soroufully, for wanting of thare makis,
And sum in armes for thaire ladyes sakis.

LXXXVII

And othir eke by othir diuerse chance,
As happin folk all day, as ȝe may se;
Sum for dispaire, without recouerance;
Sum for desyre, surmounting thaire degree;
Sum for dispite and othir inmytee;
Sum for vnkyndënes without a quhy,
Sum for to moch, and sum for ielousye.

LXXXVI. 1. nextë, S.; 2. ȝongë, S. LXXXVII. 2. (happinis).

(84)

For fro the tyme þat thai coud vnderstand
The exercise of lufis craft the cure
Was non on lyve þat toke so moch on hand
For lufis sake/nor langer did endure
In lufis seruice/for man I the assure
Quhen thay of 3outh ressauit had the fill
3it in thaire age tham lakkit no gude will

(85)

Here bene also of suich as In counsailis
And all thare dedis were to venus trewe
Here bene the princis faucht the grete batailis
In mynd of quhom ar maid the bukis newe
Here ben the poetis þat the sciencis knewe
Throwout the warld of lufe in thaire suete layes
Suich as Ouide and Omere in thaire dayes

(86)

And efter thame down In the next stage
There as thou seis the 3ong folkis pleye
lo thise were thay þat in thaire myddill age
Seruandis were to lufe in mony weye
And diuersely happinnit for to deye
Sum soroufully for wanting of thare makis
And sum in armes for thaire ladyes sakis

(87)

And othir eke by othir diuerse chance
As happin folk all day as 3e may se
Sum for dispaire without recouerance
Sum for desyre surmounting thaire degree
Sum for dispite/and othir Inmytee
Sum for vnkyndenes without a quhy
Sum for to moch and sum for Ielousye

LXXXVIII

And efter this, vpon 3one stage adoun,
Tho that thou seis stond in capis wyde ;
3one were quhilum folk of religioun,
That from the warld thaire gouernance did hide,
And frely seruit lufe on euery syde
In secrete, with thaire bodyis and thaire gudis.
And lo ! quhy so thai hingen doun thaire hudis :

LXXXIX

For though that thai were hardy at assay,
And did him seruice quhilum priuely,
3it to the warldis eye it semyt nay ;
So was thaire seruice halflyng cowardy :
And for thay first forsuke him opynly,
And efter that thereof had repenting,
For schame thaire hudis oure thaire eyne thay hyng.

XC

And seis thou now 3one multitude, on rawe
Standing, behynd 3one trauerse of delyte ?
Sum bene of thame that haldin were full lawe,
And take by frendis, nothing thay to wyte,
In 3outh from lufe into the cloistere quite ;
And for that cause are cummyn, recounsilit,
On thame to pleyne that so thame had begilit.

XCI

And othir bene amongis thame also,
That cummyn ar to court, on Lufe to pleyne,
For he thaire bodyes had bestowit so,
Quhare bothe thaire hertes gruchit ther-ageyne ;
For quhich, in all thaire dayës, soth to seyne,
Quhen othir lyvit in ioye and in plesance,
Thaire lyf was noght bot care and repentance ;

LXXXVIII. 1. adoun, S. stagë, W.
LXXXIX. 4. halfdel, S. ; seruicë, W.
XCI. 4. gruchen, S. ; gruchë, W. ; gruchit, E. T. 6. in, S.

(88)

And eft*er* this vpon 3one stage doun̄
Tho þ*at* thou seis stond in capis wyde
3one were quhilum folk of religioun
That from the warld thair*e* gou*er*nance did hide
And frely s*er*uit lufe on eu*er*y syde
In secrete w*ith* thair*e* bodyis and thair*e* gudis
And lo·quhy so/·thai hingen doun̄ thair*e* hudis

(89)

For though þ*at* thai were hardy at assay
And did him s*er*uice quhilum pr*i*uely
3it to the warldis eye It semyt nay
So was thair*e* s*er*uice half cowardy
And for thay first forsuke him opynly
And eft*er* that/·thereof had repenting
For schame thair*e* hudis our*e* thair*e* eyne thay hyng

(90)

And seis thou now 3one multitude on rawe
Standing behynd 3one̅ trauers*e* of delyte
Sum bene of tham̄ þ*at* haldin were full lawe
And tak by frendis/·nothing thay to wyte
In 3outh from lufe Into the cloister*e* quite
And for that caus*e* ar*e* cu*m*myn recounsilit
On thame to pleyne þ*at* so tham̄ had begilit

(91)

And othir bene amongis thame also
That cu*m*myn ar*e* to court on lufe to pleyne
For he thair*e* bodyes had bestowit so
Quhare bothe thair*e* hertes gruch̄ ther*e* ageyne
For quhich̄ In all thair*e* dayes soth to seyne
Quhen othir lyvit In Ioye and plesance
Thair*e* lyf was no*gh*t bot care and repen*t*ance

XCII

And quhare thaire hertis gevin were and set,
Were coplit with othir that coud noght accord;
Thus were thai wrangit that did no forfet,
Departing thame that neuer wold discord."
Off ȝongë ladies faire and mony lord,
That thus by maistry were fro thair chose dryve,
Full redy were thaire playntis there to gyve.

XCIII

And othir also I sawe compleynyng there
Vpon Fortune and hir grete variance,
That, quhere in loue so wele they coplit were,
With thaire suete makis coplit in plesance,
So sodeynly maid thaire disseuerance,
And tuke thame of this warldis companye,
Withoutin cause, there was none othir quhy.

XCIV

And in a chiere of estate besyde,
With wingis bright, all plumyt, bot his face,
There sawe I sitt the blyndë god Cupide,
With bow in hand, that bent full redy was,
And by him hang thre arowis in a cas,
Off quhich the hedis grundyn were full ryght,
Off diuerse metals forgit faire and bryght.

XCV

And with the first, that hedit is of gold,
He smytis soft, and that has esy cure;
The secund was of siluer, mony-fold
Wers than the first, and harder auenture;
The thrid, of stele, is schot without recure;
And on his long and ȝalow lokkis schene
A chaplet had he all of levis grene.

XCII. 2. S. omits initial "Were." 4. discord," W. W. 5. ȝongë, S.
XCIII. 4. (iunyt). 5. Sche, S.; So, W. W.
XCIV. 3. blyndë, S. XCV. 6. longë, S.

(92)

And quhare thaire hertis gevin were and set
Were coplit with othir þat coud noght accord
Thus were thai wrangit þat did no forfet
Departing thame þat neuer wold discord
Off 3ong ladies faire and mony lord
That thus by maistry were fro thair chose dryve
Full redy were/thaire playntis there to gyve

(93)

And othir also I sawe compleyning there
Vpon fortune and hir grete variance
That quhere in loue so wele they coplit were
With thaire suete makis coplit in plesance
So sodeynly maid thaire disseuerance
And tuke thame of this warldis companye
Withoutin cause/there was non othir quhy

(94)

And in a chiere of estate besyde
With wingis bright/all plumyt/bot his face
There sawe I sitt the blynd god Cupide
With bow in hand þat bent full redy was
And by him hang thre arowis In a cas
Off quhich the hedis grundyn were full ryght
Off diuerse metals forgit faire and bryght

(95)

And with the first þat hedit is of gold
He smytis soft and that has esy cure
The secund was of siluer many fold
Wers than the first and harder auenture
The thrid of stele is schot without recure
And on his long 3alow lokkis schene
A chaplet had he all of levis grene

XCVI

And in a retrete lytill of compas,
Depeyntit all with sighis wonder sad,
Noght suich sighis as hertis doith manace,
Bot suich as dooth lufaris to be glad,
Fond I Venus vpon hir bed, that had
A mantill cast ouer hir schuldris quhite:
Thus clothit was the goddesse of delyte.

XCVII

Stude at the dure Fair-Calling, hir vschere,
That coude his office doon in connyng wise,
And Secretee, hir thrifty chamberere,
That besy was in tyme to do seruise,
And othir mo I can noght on avise,
And on hir hede, of rede rosis full suete,
A chapellet sche had, faire, fresch, and mete.

XCVIII

With quaking hert astonate of that sight,
Vnnethis wist I quhat that I suld seyne;
Bot, at the last, febily, as I myght,
With my handis on bothe my kneis tueyne,
There I begouth my caris to compleyne;
And with ane humble and lamentable chere
Thus salute I that goddesse bryght and clere:

XCIX

"Hye Quene of Lufe! sterre of beneuolence!
Pitouse princes, and planet merciable!
Appesare of malice and violence!
By vertew pure of 3our aspectis hable,
Vnto 3oure grace lat now bene acceptable
My pure request, that can no forthir gone
To seken help, bot vnto 3ow allone!

XCVII. 5. S., in note, suggests "mo I can noght on avise"; W., "mo that I can noght avise."
XCVIII. 3. lastë, S.

(96)

And In a retrete lytill of compas
Depeyntit all *with* sighis wond*er* sad
No*gh*t suich sighis as hertis doith manace
Bot suich as dooth lufar*is* to be glad
Fond I ven*us* vpon hir bed *þat* had
A mantill cast ou*er* hir schuldris quhite
Thus clothit was the goddesse of delyte

(97)

Stude at the dure fair calling hir vschere
That coude his office doon In con*n*yng wis*e*
And secretee hir thrifty chamberere
That besy was in tyme to do s*er*uis*e*
And othir mo *þat* I can no*gh*t on avis*e*
And on hir hede of rede rosis full suete
A chapellet sche had fair*e* fresch and mete

(98)

W*ith* quaking hert astonate of that sight
Vnnethis wist I quhat *þat* I suld seyne
Bot at the last febily as I my*gh*t
W*ith* my handis on bothe my ~~han~~ kneis tueyne
There I begouth my car*is* to compleyne
W*ith* ane humble and lamen*t*able chere
Thus salute I that goddess*e* bry*gh*t and clere

(99)

Hye quene of lufe/'sterr*e* of beneuolence
Pitous*e* princes and planet m*er*ciable
Appesar*e* of malice and violence
By vertew pur*e* of 3our aspectis hable
Vnto 3our*e* grace lat now ben̄ acceptable
My pur*e* request *þat* can no forthir gone
To seken help bot vnto 3ow allone

C

As ȝe that bene the socoure and suete well
Off remedye, of carefull hertes cure,
And, in the hugë weltering wawis fell
Off lufis ragë, blisfull havin and sure;
O anker and keye of our gude auenture,
ȝe haue ȝour man with his gude-will conquest.
Merci, therefore, and bring his hert to rest!

CI

ȝe knaw the cause of all my peynes smert
Bet than my-self, and all myn auenture
ȝe may conuoye, and as ȝow list, conuert
The hardest hert that formyt hath nature:
Sen in ȝour handis all hale lyith my cure,
Haue pitee now, O bryght blisfull goddesse,
Off ȝour pure man, and rew on his distresse!

CII

And though I was vnto ȝour lawis strange,
By ignorance, and noght by felonye,
And that ȝour grace now likit hath to change
My hert, to seruen ȝow perpetualye,
Forgeue all this, and schapith remedye
To sauen me of ȝour benignë grace,
Or do me steruen furth-with in this place.

CIII

And with the stremes of ȝour percyng lyght
Conuoy my hert, that is so wo-begone,
Ageyne vnto that suetë hevinly sight,
That I, within the wallis cald as stone,
So suetly saw on morow walk and gone,
Law in the gardyn, ryght tofore myn eye:
Now, merci, Quene! and do me noght to deye."

C. 4. ragë, W. W.

(100)

As ȝe þat bene the socoure and suete well
Off remedye of carefull hertis cure
And in the huge weltering wawis fell
Off lufis rage blisfull havin and sure
O anker and keye of oure gude auenture
ȝe haue ȝour man with his gude will conquest
Merci therefore and bring his hert to rest

(101)

ȝe knaw the cause of all my peynes smert
Bet than my self/ and all myn auenture
ȝe may conuoye and as ȝow list conuert
The hardest hert þat formyt hath nature
Sen in ȝour handis all hale lyith my cure
Haue pitee now · o bryght blisfull goddesse
Off ȝour pure man/ and rew on his distresse

(102)

And though I was vnto ȝour lawis strange
By ignorance/ and noght by felonye
And þat ȝour grace now likit hath to change
My hert/to seruen ȝow perpetualye
Forgeue all this/ and schapith remedye
To sauen me of ȝour benigne grace
Or do me steruen furthwith in this place

(103)

And with the stremes of ȝour percyng lyght
Conuoy my hert þat is so wo begone
Ageyne vnto that suete hevinly sight
That I within the wallis cald as stone
So suetly saw on morow walk and gone
Law in the gardyn ryght tofore myn eye
Now merci quene/ and do me noght to deye

CIV

Thir wordis said, my spirit in dispaire,
A quhile I stynt, abiding efter grace:
And there-with-all hir cristall eyën faire
Sche kest asyde, and efter that a space,
Benignëly sche turnyt has hir face
Towardis me full plesantly conueide;
And vnto me ryght in this wise sche seide:

CV

"Ȝong man, the cause of all thyne inward sorowe
Is noght vnknawin to my deite,
And thy request, bothe now and eke toforowe,
Quhen thou first maid professioun to me;
Sen of my grace I haue inspirit the
To knawe my lawe, contynew furth, for oft,
There as I mynt full sore, I smyte bot soft.

CVI

Paciently thou tak thyne auenture,
This will my sone Cupide, and so will I,
He can the stroke, to me langis the cure
Quhen I se tyme, and therefor humily
Abyde, and serue, and lat Gude-Hope the gye:
Bot, for I haue thy fairhede here present,
I will the schewe the more of myn entent.

CVII

This is to say, though it to me pertene
In lufis lawe the septre to gouerne,
That the effectis of my bemes schene
Has thaire aspectis by ordynance eterne,
With otheris byndand, menys to discerne
Quhilum in thingis bothe to cum and gone
That langis noght to me to writh allone,

CIV. 4. Sche, S.
CVII. 5. bunden menes, S., suggestion in notes; bynding, W.

(104)

Thir wordis said·/my spirit in dispaire
A quhile I stynt abiding efter grace
And therewithall hir cristall eyen faire
Me kest asyde/·and efter that a space
Benignely sche turnyt has hir face
Towardis me full plesantly conueide
And vnto me right in this wise sche seide

(105)

3ong man the cause of all thyne Inward sorowe
Is noght vnknawin to my deite
And thy request bothe now and eke toforowe
Quhen thou first maid professioun to me
Sen of my grace I haue inspirit the
To knawe my lawe/contynew furth/for oft
There as I mynt full sore/I smyte ~~full~~ bot soft

(106)

Paciently thou tak thyne auenture
This will my son̄ Cupide and so will I
He can the stroke to me langis the cure
Quhen I se tyme and therefore huily*
Abyde and serue and lat gude hope the gye
Bot for I haue thy forehede here present
I will the schewe the more of myn entent

(107)

This is to say/·though It to me pertene
In lufis lawe the septre to gouerne
That the effectis of my bemes schene
Has thaire aspectis by ordynance eterne
With otheris bynd and mynes to discerne
Quhilum in thingis bothe to cum and gone
That langis noght to me to writh allone

* The scribe gives *i* an upward turn ↄ, and omits the stroke above *u* to signify *um*.

CVIII

As in thyne awin case now may thou se ;
For-quhy ? lo, that of otheris influence
Thy persone standis noght in libertee ;
Quharefore, though I geve the beneuolence,
It standis noght ȝit in myn aduertence,
Till certeyne coursis endit be and ronne,
Quhill of trew seruis thow have hir i-wonne.

CIX

And ȝit, considering the nakitnesse
Bothe of thy wit, thy persone, and thy myght,
It is no mach, of thyne vnworthynesse,
To hir hie birth, estate, and beautee bryght :
Als like ye bene, as day is to the nyght ;
Or sek-cloth is vnto fyne cremesye ;
Or doken foule onto the fresche dayesye.

CX

Vnlike the mone is to the sonnë schene,
Eke Ianuarye is vnlike vnto May ;
Vnlike the cukkow to the phylomene,
Thaire tabartis ar noght bothe maid of array ;
Vnlike the crow is to the papë-iay,
Vnlike, in goldsmythis werk, a fischis eye
To prese with perll, or maked be so heye.

CXI

As I haue said, ȝit vnto me belangith
Specialy the cure of thy seknesse ;
Bot now thy matere so in balance hangith,
That it requerith, to thy sekernesse,
The help of othir mo that bene goddes,
And haue in thame the menes and the lore
In this matere to sc' orter with thy sore.

CVIII. 2. by otheris, S. ; that otheris, W. 7. S. notes, Introd., p. 2, the attempted deletion of "graice," but retains it in text, thinking scribe changed his mind.
CIX. 7. doken to the freschë, S. As in text, W.
CX. 2. vnlike to, S. ; 4, 5. Transposition of these lines would effect improvement. 4. S. suggests omission of maid. W. reads of an ray. 7. To peire with, S.
CXI. 1. now vnto, S.

(108)

As in thyne awin case now may thou se
For quhy lo·þat otheris Influence
Thy persone standis noght in libertee
Quharefore though I geve the beneuolence
It standis noght 3it In myn aduertence
Till certeyne coursis endit be and ronne
Quhill of trew seruis thow have hir grace I wone

(109)

And 3it considering the nakitnesse
Bothe of thy wit/·thy persone and thy myght
It is no mach of thyne vnworthynesse
To hir hie birth/estate/and beautee bryght
Als like 3e bene/·as day is to the nyght
Or sek cloth is vnto fyne cremesye
foule on·
Or doken to* the fresche dayesye

(110)

Vnlike the mone Is to the sonne schene
Eke Ianuarye is like vnto may
Vnlike the cukkow to the phylomene
Thaire tabartis ar noght bothe maid of array
Vnlike the crow is to the pape Iay
Vnlike in goldsmythis werk a fischis eye
To purese with perll/·or maked be so heye

(111)

As I haue said · vnto me belangith
Specialy the cure of thy seknesse
Bot now thy matere so in balance hangith
That It requerith to thy sekernesse
The help of othir mo/than bene goddes
And haue in thame the menes and the lore
In this matere to·schorten with/·thy sore

* So written in MS.

CXII

And for thou sall se wele that I entend
Vn-to thy help, thy welefare to preserue,
The streightë weye thy spirit will I send
To the goddesse that clepit is Mynerue,
And se that thou hir hestis wele conserue,
For in this case sche may be thy supplye,
And put thy hert in rest, als wele as I.

CXIII

Bot, for the way is vncouth vnto the,
There as hir duelling is and hir soiurne,
I will that Gude-Hope seruand to the be,
3oure alleris frend, to lat the noght to murn,
Be thy condyt and gyde till thou returne,
And hir besech that sche will, in thy nede,
Hir counsele geve to thy welefare and spede,

CXIV

And that sche will, as langith hir office,
Be thy gude lady, help and counseiloure,
And to the schewe hir rype and gude auise,
Throw quhich thou may, be processe and laboure,
Atteyne vnto that glad and goldyn floure,
That thou wald haue so fayn with all thy hart.
And forthir-more, sen thou hir seruand art,

CXV

Quhen thou descendis doūn to ground ageyne,
Say to the men that there bene resident,
How long think thay to stand in my disdeyne,
That in my lawis bene so negligent
From day to day, and list thame noght repent,
Bot breken louse, and walken at thaire large?
Is nocht eft non that thereof gevis charge?

CXII. 3. streightë, S. CXIII. 4. to lettë, S.

(112)

And for thou sall se wele þat I entend
Vnto thy help thy welefare to p*reser*ue
The streight weye thy spirit will I send
To the goddesse þat clepit is myn*er*ue
And se þat thou hir hestis wele cons*er*ue
For in this cas*e* sche may be thy supplye
And put thy hert in rest als wele as I

(113)

Bot for the way is vncouth vnto the
There as hir duelling is/·and hir soiurne
I will þat gud hope s*er*uand to the be
3oure aller*is* frend to let the to murn
Be thy condyt and gyde/·till thou returne
And hir besech þat sche will in thy nede
Hir counsele geve to thy welefar*e a*nd spede

(114)

And þat sche will/as langith hir office
Be thy gude lady/·help and counseiloure
And to the schewe hir rype and gude auise
Throw quhich thou may be processe and labour*e*
Atteyne vnto that glad and goldyn floure
That thou wald haue so fayn w*ith* all thy hart
And forthir more sen thou hir s*er*uand art

(115)

Quhen thou descendis doun̄ to ground ageyne
Say to the men þat there bene resident
How long think thay to stand in my disdeyne
That in my lawis bene so negligent
From day to day/·and list tham̄ no*gh*t repent
breken
Bot ~~breken~~ louse and walken at thaire large
t none
Is ~~non eft~~ þat thereof gevis charge

CXVI

And for," quod sche, " the angir and the smert
Off thaire vnkyndënesse dooth me constreyne,
My femynyne and wofull tender hert,
That than I wepe ; and, to a token pleyne,
As of my teris cummyth all this reyne,
That ȝe se on the ground so fast ybete
Fro day to day, my turment is so grete.

CXVII

And quhen I wepe, and stynt anothir quhile,
For pacience that is in womanhede,
Than all my wrath and rancoure I exile ;
And of my cristall teris that bene schede,
The hony flouris growen vp and sprede,
That preyen men, into thaire flouris wise,
Be trewe of lufe, and worschip my seruise.

CXVIII

And eke, in takin of this pitouse tale,
Quhen so my teris dropen on the ground,
In thaire nature the lytill birdis smale
Styntith thaire song, and murnyth for that stound,
And all the lightis in the hevin round
Off my greuance haue suich compacience,
That from the ground they hiden thaire presence.

CXIX

And ȝit in tokenyng forthir of this thing,
Quhen flouris springis, and freschest bene of hewe,
And that the birdis on the twistis sing,
At thilkë tyme ay gynnen folk renewe
That seruis vnto loue, as ay is dewe,
Most commounly haue thay his obseruance,
And of thaire sleuth tofore haue repentance.

CXVII. 1. S. follows MS. and reads stynten ; an othir, W. ; 6. as in, S. ; ryght in, W.
CXIX. 4. folk renewe, S. 6. Most commonly haue his obseruance, W.

(116)

And for q*uo*d sche/the angir and the smert
Off thair*e* vnkyndenes*se* dooth me constreyne
My femynyne and wofull tend*er* hert
That than I wepe/and to a token pleyne
As of my ter*is* cu*m*myth all this reyne
That ȝe se on the ground so fast ybete
Fro day to day/·my t*ur*ment is so grete

(117)

And quhen I wepe/and stynten othir quhile
For pacience þ*at* is in woma*n*hede
Than all my wrath and rancour*e* I exile
And of my cristall ter*is* þ*at* bene schede
The hony flour*is* growen vp a*nd* sprede
That preyen me*n* in thair*e* flour*is* wis*e*
Be trewe of lufe/and worschip my s*er*uis*e*

(118)

And eke In takin of this pitous*e* tale
Quhen so my ter*is* dropen on the ground
In thair*e* nature the lytill birdis smale
Styntith thair*e* song and m*ur*nyth for that stound
And all the lightis In the hevin round
Off my greuance/haue suich compacience
That from the gro*u*nd they hiden thair*e* p*re*sence

(119)

And ȝit In tokenyng forthir of this thing
Quhen flour*is* springis and freschest bene of hewe
And þ*at* the birdis on the twistis sing
At thilke tyme ay gy*n*nen folk to renewe
That s*er*uis vnto loue/·as ay is dewe
Most *commou*nly has ay his obs*er*uance
And of thair*e* sleuth tofore haue repe*n*tance

CXX

Thus maist thou sene that myn effectis grete,
Vnto the quhich ȝe aught and most obeye,
No lyte offense, to sleuth is al forget:
And therefore in this wisë to thame seye,
As I the here haue bidden, and conueye
The matere all the better tofore said;
Thus sall on the my charges bene ilaid.

CXXI

Say on than, 'Quhare is becummyn, for schame!
The songis new, the fresch carolis and dance,
The lusty lyf, the mony change of game,
The fresche array, the lusty contenance,
The besy awayte, the hertly obseruance,
Tha. quhilum was amongis thame so ryf?
Bid thame repent in tyme, and mend thare lyf:

CXXII

Or I sall, with my fader old Saturne,
And with al hale oure hevinly alliance,
Oure glad aspectis from thame writh and turne,
That all the warld sall waile thaire gouernance.
Bid thame be tyme that thai haue repentance,
And with thaire hertis hale renew my lawe;
And I my hand fro beting sall withdrawe.

CXXIII

This is to say, contynew in my seruise,
Worschip my law, and my name magnifye,
That am your hevin and your paradise;
And I your confort here sall multiplye,
And, for your meryt here, perpetualye
Ressaue I sall your saulis of my grace,
To lyve with me as goddis in this place.'"

CXX. 2. ȝaughten maist weye, S.; aught and most obeye, W. W.; 3. is al forget, S. 5. bidden, S. 7. chargë, S.
CXXII. 6. with, S.

(120)

Thus maist thou seyne þat myn effectis grete
Vnto the quhich ȝe aught and maist weye
No lyte offense to sleuth is forget
And therefore In this wise to tham seye
As I the here haue bid/·and conueye
The matere all the better tofore said
Thus sall on the my charge bene Ilaid

(121)

Say on than·quhare Is becummyn for schame
The songis new·the fresch carolis and dance
The lusty lyf/the mony change of game
The fresche array/·the lusty contenance
The besy awayte/·the hertly obseruance
That quhilum was amongis thame so ryf
Bid tham repent in tyme and mend thaire lyf

(122)

Or I sall with my fader old Saturne
And with al hale oure hevinly alliance
Oure glad aspectis from thame writh and turne
That all the warld sall waile thaire gouernance
Bid thame be tyme þat thai haue repentance
And thaire hertis hale renew my lawe
And I my hand fro beting sall withdrawe

(123)

This is to say/·contynew in my seruise
Worschip my law/·and my name magnifye
That am ȝour hevin and ȝour paradise
And I ȝour confort here sall multiplye
And for ȝour meryt here perpetualye
Ressaue I sall ȝour saulis of my grace
To lyve with me as goddis In this place

CXXIV

With humble thank, and all the reuerence
That feble wit and connyng may atteyne,
I tuke my leuë ; and from hir presence,
Gude-Hope and I to-gider, bothë tueyne,
Departit are, and, schortly for to seyne,
He hath me led the redy wayis ryght
Vnto Mineruis palace, faire and bryght.

CXXV

Quhare as I fand, full redy at the ȝate,
The maister portare, callit Pacience,
That frely lete vs in, vnquestionate ;
And there we sawe the perfyte excellence,
The said renewe, the state, the reuerence,
The strenth, the beautee, and the ordour digne
Off hir court riall, noble and benigne.

CXXVI

And straught vnto the presence sodeynly
Off dame Minerue, the pacient goddesse,
Gude-Hope my gyde has led me redily ;
To quhom anon with dredefull humylnesse,
Off my cummyng the cause I gan expresse,
And all the processe hole, vnto the end,
Off Venus charge, as likit hir to send.

CXXVII

Off quhich ryght thus hir ansuere was in bref :
"My sone, I haue wele herd, and vnderstond,
Be thy reherse, the matere of thy gref,
And thy request to procure, and to fonde
Off thy pennance sum confort at my hond,
Be counsele of thy lady Venus clere,
To be with hir thyne help in this matere.

CXXIV. 3. hy presence, S. ; leuë, W. W. 6. the, S.
CXXV. 5. (facture newe). CXXVI. 3. gydë, S. ; hath led, W.

(124)

With humble thank and all the reuerence
That feble wit/and connyng may atteyne
I tuke my leue and from hir presence
Gude hope and I to gider bothe tueyne
Departit are and schortly for to seyne
He hath me led redy wayis ryght
Vnto Mineruis palace faire and bryght

(125)

Quhare as I fand full redy at the ȝate
The maister portare callit pacience
That frely lete vs in vnquestionate
And there we sawe the perfyte excellence
The said renewe/the state the reuerence
The strenth the beautee and the ordour digne
Off hir court riall/·noble * and benigne

(126)

And straught vnto the presence sodeynly
Off dame Minerue the pacient goddesse
Gude hope my gyde led me redily
To quhom anon with dredefull humylnesse
Off my cummyng the cause I gan expresse
And all the processe hole vnto the end
Off venus charge as likit hir to send

(127)

Off quhich ryght thus hir ansuere was in bref
My son I haue wele herd and vnderstond
Be thy rehersе the matere of thy gref
And thy request to procure and to fonde
Off thy pennance sum confort at my hond
Be counsele of thy lady venus clere
To be with hir thyne help In this matere

* Here in MS. three marks (not letters) ∴ are stroked through.

CXXVIII

Bot in this case thou sall wele knawe and witt,
Thou may thy hert grounden on suich a wise,
That thy laboure will be bot lytill quit;
And thou may set it in anothir wise,
That wil be to the grete worschip and prise;
And gif thou durst vnto that way enclyne,
I will the geve my lore and disciplyne.

CXXIX

Lo, my gude sone, this is als mich to seyne,
As, gif thy lufe be sett all-uterly
Of nycĕ lust, thy trauail is in veyne;
And so the end sall turne of thy folye
To payne and repentance; lo, wate thou quhy?
Gif the ne list thy lufe on vertew set,
Vertu sall be the cause of thy forfet.

CXXX

Tak Him before in all thy gouernance,
That in His hand the stere has of you all;
And pray vnto His hyĕ purueyance
Thy lufe to gye, and on Him traist and call,
That corner-stone and ground is of the wall,
That failis noght; and trust, withoutin drede,
Vnto thy purpose sone He sall the lede.

CXXXI

For lo, the werk that first is foundit sure,
May better bere a pace and hyare be
Than othir-wise, and langere sall endure
Be monyfald, this may thy resoun see,
And stronger to defend aduersitee:
Groundith thy werk, therefore, vpon the stone,
And thy desire sall forthward with the gone.

CXXVIII. 2. hertĕ, S. 4. anothir, S.
CXXIX. 2. "be" accidentally omitted, S. 3. On nycĕ, W. 6. thy lufe on, W. W.
CXXXI. 6. Ground thou, S.

(128)

Bot in this case thou sall wele knawe and witt
Thou may thy hert ground on suich a wise
That thy laboure will be bot lytill quit
And thou may set It In othir wise
That wil be to the grete worschip and prise
And gif thou durst vnto that way enclyne
I will the geve my lore and disciplyne

(129)

Lo my gude sone this Is als mich to seyne
As gif thy lufe be sett alluterly
Of nyce lust/·thy trauail is in veyne
And so the end sall turne of thy folyè
To payne/·and repentance/·lo wate thou quhy
Gif the ne list on lufe thy vertew set
Vertu sal be the cause of thy forfet

(130)

Tak him before in all thy gouernance
That in his hand the stere has of ȝou all
And pray vnto his hye purueyance
Thy lufe to gye/and on him traist and call
That corner stone and ground is of the wall
That failis noght/·and trust withoutin drede
Vnto thy purpose sone he sall the lede

(131)

For lo the werk þat first Is foundit sure
May better bere a pace and hyare be
Than othir wise and langere sall endure
Be monyfald/·this may thy resoun see
And stronger to defend aduersitee
Ground thy werk therefore vpon the stone
And thy desire sall forthward with the gone

CXXXII

Be trewe, and meke, and stedfast in thy thoght,
And diligent hir merci to procure,
Noght onely in thy word; for word is noght,
Bot gif thy werk and all thy besy cure
Accord thereto and vtrid be; mesure
The place, the houre, the maner, and the wise,
Gif mercy sall admitten thy seruise.

CXXXIII

All thing has tyme, thus sais Ecclesiaste;
And wele is him that his tyme wel abit.
Abyde thy time, for he that can bot haste
Can noght of hap, the wisë man it writ;
And oft gude fortune flourith with gude wit:
Quharefore, gif thou will be wele fortunyt,
Lat wisedome ay to thy will be iunyt.

CXXXIV

Bot there be mony of so brukill sort,
That feynis treuth in lufe bot for a quhile,
And setten all thaire wittis and disport
The sely innocent woman to begyle,
And so to wynne thaire lustis with a wile;
Suich feynit treuth is all bot trechorye,
Vnder the vmbre of hid ypocrisye.

CXXXV

For as the foulere quhistlith in his throte
Diuersëly, to counterfete the brid,
And feynis mony a suete and strangë note,
Till sche be fast lokin his net amyd,
That in the busk for his desate is hid;
Ryght so the fatoure, the false theif, I say,
With suete tresoun oft wynnith thus his pray.

CXXXII. 5. Accord thereto; and vtrid be mesure, S.; vtrid be; W. W.
CXXXIII. 7. vnto, S. CXXXIV. 1. (For) there be; 2. in lufë, S.
CXXXV. Transposition of 4 and 5, W. W.

(132)

Be trewe and meke and stedfast in thy thogȝt
And diligent hir merci to procure
Nogȝt onely in thy word/·for word is nogȝt
Bot gif thy werk and all thy besy cure
Accord thereto/·and vtrid be mesure
The place/·the houre/the maner and the wise
Gif mercy sall admitten thy seruise

(133)

All thing has tyme thus sais Ecclesiaste
And wele is him þat his tyme wel abit
Abyde thy tyme/·for he þat can bot haste
Can nogȝt of hap/the wise man It writ
And oft gud fortune flourith with gude wit
Quharefore gif thou will be wele fortunyt
Lat wisedom̄ ay to thy will be Iunyt

(134)

Bot there be mony of so brukill sort
That feynis treuth In lufe for a quhile
And setten all thaire wittis and disport
The sely Innocent woman to begyle
And so to wynne thaire lustis with a wile
Suich feynit treuth is all bot trechorye heid
Vnder the vmbre of ypocrisye

(135)

For as the foulere quhistlith in his throte
Diuersely to counterfete the brid
And feynis mony a suete and strange note
That in the busk for his desate is hid
Till sche be fast lok in his net amyd
Rygȝt so the fatoure the false theif I say
With suete tresoun oft wynnith thus his pray

CXXXVI

Fy on all suich ! fy on thaire doubilnesse !
Fy on thaire lust and bestly appetite !
Thaire wolfis hertis, in lambis likĕnesse ;
Thaire thoughtis blak, hid vnder wordis quhite ;
Fy on thaire laboure ! fy on thaire delyte !
That feynen outward all to hir honour,
And in thaire hert hir worschip wold deuoure.

CXXXVII

So hard it is to trusten now on dayes,
The warld it is so double and inconstant,
Off quhich the suth is kid be mony assayes ;
More pitee is ; for quhich the remanant,
That menen wele, and ar noght variant,
For otheris gilt ar suspect of vntreuth,
And hyndrit oft, and treuely that is reuth.

CXXXVIII

Bot gif the hert be groundit ferme and stable
In Goddis law, thy purpose to atteyne,
Thy laboure is to me wel agreable ;
And my full help, with counsele trew and pleyne,
I will the schewe, and this is the certeyne ;
Opyn thy hert, therefore, and lat me se
Gif thy remede be pertynent to me."

CXXXIX

"Madame," quod I, "sen it is your plesance
That I declare the kynd of my loving,
Treuely and gude, withoutin variance,
I lufe that floure abufe all othir thing,
And wold bene he that to hir worschipping
Myght ought auaile, be Him that starf on rude,
And nouthir spare for trauaile, lyf, nor gude.

CXXXVII. 6. ar, S. CXXXVIII. 3. ful agreable, S.

(136)

Fy on all suich fy on thaire doubilnesse
Fy on thaire lust and bestly appetite
Thaire wolfis hertis in lambis liknesse
Thaire thoughtis blak hid vnder wordis quhite
Fy on thaire laboure fy on thaire delyte
That feynen outward all to hir honour
And in thaire hert hir worschip wold deuoure

(137)

So hard It is to trusten now on dayes
The warld/·It is so double and inconstant
Off quhich the suth is kid be mony assayes
More pitee is/·for quhich the remanant
That menen wele/·and are noght variant
For othiris gilt/·and suspect of vntreuth
And hyndrit oft and treuely that is reuth

(138)

Bot gif the hert be groundit ferm and stable
In goddis law thy purpose to atteyne
Thy laboure is to me agreable
And my full help with counsele trew and pleyne
I will the schewe/·and this is the certeyne
Opyn thy hert therefore and lat me se
Gif thy remede be pertynent to me

(139)

Madame quod I sen it is 3our plesance
That I declare the kynd of my loving
Treuely and gude withoutin variance
I lufe that floure abufe all othir thing
And wold bene he/·þat to hir worschipping
Myght ought auaile/be him þat starf on rude
And nouthir spare for trauaile lyf nor gude

CXL

And forthirmore, as touching the nature
Off my lufing, to worschip or to blame,
I darre wele say, and there-in me assure,
For ony gold that ony wight can name
Nold I be he that suld of hir gude fame
Be blamischere in ony point or wyse
For wele nor wo, quhill my life may suffise.

CXLI

This is theffect trewly of myn entent,
Touching the suete that smertis me so sore,
Giff this be faynt, I can it noght repent,
All-though my lyf suld forfaut be therefore :
Blisfull princes ! I can seye ȝou no more :
Bot so desire my wittis dooth compace,
More ioy in erth kepe I noght bot ȝour grace."

CXLII

" Desire," quod sche, " I nyl it noght deny,
So thou it ground and set in Cristin wise ;
And therefore, son, opyn thy hert playnly."
" Madame," quod I, " trewly, without fantise :
That day sall I neuer desire vp-rise
For my delyte to couate the plesance
That may hir worschip putten in balance.

CXLIII

For oure all thing, lo, this were my gladnesse,
To sene the freschĕ beautee of hir face ;
And gif I myght deseruĕ, be processe,
For my grete lufe and treuth, to stond in grace,
Hir worschip sauf, lo, here the blisfull cace
That I wold ask, and there-unto attend,
For my most ioye vnto my lyfis end."

CXL. 5. Nold, S. CXLI. 3. faute, S. in notes.
CXLII. 5. sall neuer be I sall, S. ; behold uprise, W.
CXLIII. 3. I, S. 6. there-unto, S. ; askĕ, W.

(140)

And forthirmore as touching the nature
Off my lufing/·to worschip or to blame
I darre wele say/·and therein me assure
For ony gold þat ony wight can name
Wald I be he þat suld of hir gude fame
Be blamischere In ony point or wyse
For wele nor wo/·quhill my lyf may suffise

(141)

This Is theffect trewly of myn entent
Touching the suete þat smertis me so sore
Giff this be faynt/I can It noght repent
All though my lyf suld forfaut be therefore
Blisfull princes I can seye 3ou no more
Bot so desire my wittis dooth compace
More Ioy in erth kepe I noght bot 3our grace

(142)

Desire quod sche I nyl It noght deny
So thou It ground and set in cristin wise
And therefore son opyn thy hert playnly
Madame quod I trew withoutin fantise
That day sall I neuer vp rise
For my delyte to couate the plesance
That may hir worschip putten In balance

(143)

For oure all thing lo this were my gladnesse
To sene the fresche beautee of hir face
And gif It myght deserue be processe
For my grete lufe and treuth to stond in grace
Hir worschip sauf/lo here the blisfull cace
That I wold ask and thereto attend
For my most Ioye vnto my lyfis end

CXLIV

"Now wele," quod sche, "and sen that it is so,
That in vertew thy lufe is set with treuth,
To helpen the I will be one of tho
From hennesforth, and hertly without sleuth,
Off thy distresse and excesse to haue reuth,
That has thy hert: I will hir pray full faire,
That Fortune be no more thereto contraire.

CXLV

For suth it is, that all ȝe creaturis,
Quhich vnder vs beneth haue ȝour duellyng,
Ressauen diuersēly ȝour auenturis,
Off quhich the cure and principall melling
Apperit is, withoutin repellyng,
Onely to hir that has the cuttis two
In hand, bothe of ȝour wele and of ȝour wo.

CXLVI

And how so be it that sum clerkis trete,
That all ȝour chance y-causit is tofore
Heigh in the hevin, by quhois effectis grete
ȝe movit are to wrething, lesse or more,
Thar in the warld, thus calling that therefore
'Fortune,' and so that the diuersitee
Off thaire wirking suld cause necessitee.

CXLVII

Bot othir clerkis halden that the man
Has in himself the chose and libertee
To cause his awin fortune, how or quhan
That him best lest, and no necessitee
Was in the hevin at his natiuitee,
Bot ȝit the thingis happin in commune
Efter purpose, so cleping thame 'Fortune.'

CXLIV. 4. hennēsforth, S. 5, 6. I will hir pray, S.
CXLV. 5. (Appointit) (Pertynent).
CXLVI. 1. so be it, S.; so be that, W. 2. chancē, S. 5. Thar, S.

(144)

Now wele quod sche/and sen þat It is so
That In vertew thy lufe is set with treuth
To helpen the I will be one of tho
From hensforth/and hertly without sleuth
Off thy distresse and excesse to haue reuth
That has thy hert/·I will pray full faire
That fortune be no more thereto contraire

(145)

For suth It is þat all ~~the~~ ȝe creaturis
Quhich vnder vs beneth haue ȝour duellyng
Ressauen diuersely ȝour auenturis
Off quhich the cure and principall melling
Apperit is withoutin repellyng
Onely to hir þat has the cuttis two
In hand/·bothe of ȝour wele/·and of ȝour wo

(146)

And how so be/þat sum clerkis trete
That all ȝour chance causit Is tofore
Heigh In the hevin/·by quhois effectis grete
ȝe movit are to wrething lesse or more
Quhare In the warld thus calling þat therefore
Fortune/·and so þat the diuersitee
Off thaire wirking suld cause necessitee

(147)

Bot othir clerkis halden þat the man
Has in him self the chose and libertee
To cause his awin fortune how or quhan
That him best lest/·and no * necessitee
Was In the hevin at his natiuitee
Bot ȝit the thingis happin in commune
Efter purpose·so cleping thame fortune

* A letter like *a* is here erased.

CXLVIII

And quhare a persone has tofore knawing
Off it that is to fallen purposely,
Lo, Fortune is bot wayke in suich a thing,
Thou may wele wit, and here ensample quhy;
To God, that is the first cause onēly
Off euery thing, there may no fortune fall:
And quhy? for he foreknawin is of all.

CXLIX

And therefore thus I say to this sentence;
Fortune is most and strangest euermore
Quhare leste foreknawing or intelligence
Is in the man; and, sone, of wit and lore
Sen thou art wayke and feble, lo, therefore,
The more thou art in dangere in commune
With hir that clerkis clepen so Fortune.

CL

Bot for the sake, and at the reuerence
Off Venus clere, as I the said tofore,
I haue of thy distresse compacience;
And in confort and relesche of thy sore,
The schewit I here myn avise therefore;
Pray Fortune help, for mich vnlikly thing
Full oft about sche sodeynly dooth bring.

CLI

Now go thy way, and haue gude mynde vpon
Quhat I haue said in way of thy doctryne."
"I sall, madame," quod I; and ryght anon
I tuke my leve. Als straught as ony lyne,
With-in a beme that fro the contree dyvine
Sche, percyng throw the firmament, extendit,
To ground ageyne my spirit is descendit;

CXLVIII. 2. fallen, S. 5. that, S., firstē, S. (anerly). CXLIX. 5. are, S.
CL. 5. haue here, S. CLI. 3. quod I, S.

(148)

And quhare a *per*sone has tofor*e* knawing
Off It *þat* is to fall purpos*e*ly
lo fortune is bot wayke in suich a thing
Thou may wele wit/·and here ensample quhy
To god It is the first caus*e* onely
Off eu*e*ry thing/there may no fortune fall
And quhy/·for he for*e*knawin is of all

(149)

And ther*e*for*e* thus I say to this sentence
Fortune Is most/and strangest eu*e*rmore
Quhare leste for*e*knawing or intelligence
Is in the man/·and sone of wit or lore
Sen thou art wayke and feble lo ther*e*for*e*
The more thou art in danger*e* and *com*mune
W*ith* hir *þat* clerk*is* clepen so fortune

(150)

Bot for the sake and at the reu*e*rence
Off ven*us* clere as I the said tofore
I haue of thy distress*e* compacience
And in confort/and relesche of thy sore
The schewit here my*n* avis*e* ther*e*for*e*
Pray fortune help/for mich vnlikely thing
Full oft about sche sodeynly dooth bring

(151)

Now go thy way and haue gude mynd vpon
Quhat I haue said in way of thy doctryne
I sall madame q*uo*d he/·and ry*gh*t anon
I tuke my leve als straught as ony lyne
Within a beme *þat* fro the contree dyvine
Sche percyng throw the firmament extendit
To ground ageyne my spirit is descendit

CLII

Quhare, in a lusty plane, tuke I my way,
Endlang a ryuer, plesant to behold,
Enbroudin all with freschë flouris gay,
Quhare, throu the grauel, bryght as ony gold,
The cristall water ran so clere and cold,
That in myn erë maid contynualy
A maner soune, mellit with armony ;

CLIII

That full of lytill fischis by the brym,
Now here, now there, with bakkis blewe as lede,
Lap and playit, and in a rout can swym
So prattily, and dressit thame to sprede
Thaire curall fynnis, as the ruby rede,
That in the sonne vpon thaire scalis bryght
As gesserant ay glitterit in my sight :

CLIV

And by this ilkë ryuer-syde alawe
Ane hyë-way thar fand I like to bene,
On quhich, on euery sydë, a long rawe
Off treis saw I, full of leuis grene,
That full of fruyte delitable were to sene,
And also, as it come vnto my mind,
Off bestis sawe I mony diuerse kynd :

CLV

The lyoun king, and his fere lyonesse ;
The pantere, like vnto the smaragdyne ;
The lytill squerell, full of besynesse ;
The slawë ase, the druggare beste of pyne ;
The nycë ape ; the werely porpapyne ;
The percyng lynx ; the lufare vnicorne,
That voidis venym with his euour horne.

CLII. 6. in myn erë, S. CLIII. 6. sonnë, S.
CLIV. 2. thar, S. 3. longë, S. ; sydë, W. W.

(152)

Quhare In a lusty plane tuke I my way
Endlang a ryu*er* plesant to behold
Enbroudin all w*ith* fresche flour*is* gay
Quhare throu the grauel bry*gh*t as ony gold
The cristall water ran so clere and cold
That in my*n* ere maid contynualy
A man*er* soun mellit w*ith* armony

(153)

That full of lytill fischis by the brym
Now here now there w*ith* bakk*is* blewe as lede
lap and playit/·* and In a rout can swym
So prattily and ~~In a rout can~~ dressit tham to sprede
Thair*e* curall fynn*is* as the ruby rede
That In the sonne on thair*e* scalis bry*gh*t
As gesserant ay glitt*er*it In my sight

(154)

And by this ilke ryu*er* syde alawe
Ane hye way fand I like to bene
On quhich on eu*er*y syde a long rawe
Off treis/·saw I full of leuis grene
That full of fruyte delitable were to sene
And also as It come vnto my mynd
Off bestis sawe I mony diu*ers*e kynd

(155)

The lyou*n* king and his fere lyonesse
The pantere like vnto the smaragdyne
The lytill squerell full of besynesse
The slawe as*e* the druggar*e* beste of pyne
The nyce ape/·the wer*e*ly porpapyne
The p*er*cyng lynx the lufar*e* vnicorne
That voidis venym w*ith* his euour*e* horne

* Very faint.

CLVI

There sawe I dresse him new out of his haunt
The fery tigere, full of felonye;
The dromydare; the standar oliphant;
The wyly fox, the wedowis inemye;
The clymbare gayte; the elk for alblastrye;
The herknere bore; the holsum grey for hortis;
The haire also, that oft gooth to the wortis;

CLVII

The bugill, draware by his hornis grete,
The martrik sable, the foynȝee, and mony mo;
The chalk-quhite ermyn, tippit as the iete;
The riall hert, the conyng, and the ro;
The wolf, that of the murthir noght sayis "Ho!"
The lesty beuer, and the ravin bare;
For chamelot the camel full of hare;

CLVIII

With mony an-othir beste diuerse and strange,
That cummyth noght as now vnto my mynd.
Bot now to purpose: straucht furth to the range
I held away, oure-hailing in my mynd
From quhens I come, and quhare that I suld fynd
Fortune, the goddesse, vnto quhom in hye
Gude-Hope, my gyde, has led me sodeynly.

CLIX

And at the last, behalding thus asyde,
A round place, and y-wallit, haue I found;
In myddis quhare eftsonës I have spide
Fortune, the goddesse, hufing on the ground;
And ryght before hir fete, of compas round,
A quhele, onto quhich cleuering I sye
A multitude of folk before myn eye.

CLVI. 1. his haunt, S. CLVII. 5. sayis, S. CLVIII. 3. furth by, W.
CLIX. 2. roundë, y-wallit, S. 3. aspide, S. 6. quhich than, S.

(156)

There sawe I dresse him new out of haunt
The fery tigere full of felonye
The dromydare · the standar oliphant
The wyly fox the wedowis Inemye
The clymbare gayte the elk for alblastrye
The herknere bore/·the holsum grey for hortis
The haire also/þat oft gooth to the wortis

(157)

The bugill draware by his hornis grete
The martrik sable/the foynȝee and mony mo
The chalk quhite ermyn tippit as the Iete
The riall hert the conyng and the ro
The wolf þat of the murthir noght say ho
The lesty beuer and the ravin bare
For chamelot the camel full of hare

(158)

With mony an̄ othir beste diuerse and strange
That cummyth noght as now vnto my mynd
Bot now to purpose straucht furth the range
I held away̲ ourehailing in my mynd
From quhens I come/·and quhare þat I suld fynd
Fortune the goddesse vnto quhom In hye
Gude hope my gyde has led me sodeynly

(159)

And at the last behalding thus asyde
A round place wallit haue I found
In myddis quhare eftsone I haue spide
Fortune the goddesse hufing on the ground
And ryght before hir fete of compas round
A quhele/·on quhich cleuering I sye
A multitude of folk before myn eye

CLX

And ane surcote sche werit long that tyde,
That semyt to me of mony diuerse hewis;
And quhilum thus, quhen sche wald turne asyde,
Stude this goddesse of fortune; and of lewis
A chapellet with mony fresche anewis
Sche had vpon her hed; and with this hong
A mantill on hir schuldris, large and long,

CLXI

That furrit was with erëmyn full quhite,
Degoutit with the self in spottis blake:
And quhilum in hir cherë thus a lyte
Louring sche was; and than sone sche wold slake,
And sodeynly a maner smylyng make,
And sche were glad; for at one contenance
Sche held hir noght, bot ay in variance.

CLXII

And vnderneth the quhelë sawe I there
An vgly pit as depe as ony helle,
That to behald thereon I quoke for fere;
Bot o thing herd I, that quho there-in fell
Come no more vp agane, tidingis to telle;
Off quhich, astonait of that ferefull syght,
I ne wist quhat to done, so was I fricht.

CLXIII

Bot for to se the sudayn weltering
Off that ilk quhele, that sloppare was to hold,
It semyt vnto my wit a strongë thing,
So mony I sawe that thareon clymben wold,
And failit foting, and to ground were rold;
And othir eke, that sat aboue on hye,
Were ouerthrawe in twinklyng of an eye.

CLX. 2. vnto, S.; diuersë, W. 3. wald hir, S. 4. of glewis, S.
CLXI. 3. cherë, W. W. 6. for, S. 7. bot was, S.
CLXII. 2. was, S.; as depe, W. CLXIII. 3. strangë, S.

(160)

And ane surcote sche werit long that tyde
That semyt to me of diu*erse* hewis
Quhilum thus quhen sche wald turn asyde
Stude this goddess*e* of fortune a*nd*
A chapellet w*ith* mony fresche anewis
Sche had vpon hir hed and w*ith* this hong
A mantill on hir schuldris large and long

(161)

That furrit was with ermyn full quhite
Degoutit w*ith* the self in spottis blake
And quhilum In hir chier*e* thus alyte
Louring sche was/·* and thus sone It wold slake
And sodeynly a man*er* smylyng make
And sche were glad at one contenance
Sche held no*gh*t bot ay in variance

(162)

And vnderneth the quhele sawe I there
An̄ vgly pit depe as ony helle
That to behald ther*e*on I quoke for fere
Bot o thing herd I þ*at* quho thereIn fell
Com̄ no more vp agane tidingis to telle
Off quhich astonait of that ferefull sy*gh*t
I ne wist quhat to done/·so was I fricht

(163)

Bot for to se the sudayn welt*er*ing
Off that Ilk quhele þ*at* sloppar*e* was to hold
It semyt vnto my wit a strong thing
So mony I sawe þ*at* than clymben wold
And failit foting/·and to grou*n*d were rold
And othir eke þ*at* sat aboue on hye
Were ouerthrawe In twinklyng of an̄ eye

* Very faint.

CLXIV

And on the quhele was lytill voïd space,
Wele nerë overstraught fro lawe to hye;
And they were ware that long had sat in place,
So tolter quhilum did sche it to-wrye;
There was bot clymben and ryght dounward hye,
And sum were eke that fallyng had tofore,
There for to clymbe thaire corage was no more.

CLXV

I sawe also that, quhere sum were yslungin,
Be quhirlyng of the quhele, vnto the ground,
Full sudaynly sche hath it vp ythrungin,
And set thame on agane full sauf and sound:
And euer I sawe a newë swarm abound,
That socht to clymbe vpward vpon the quhele,
In stede of thame that myght no langer rele.

CLXVI

And at the last, in presence of thame all
That stude about, sche clepit me be name;
And therewith apon kneis gan I fall
Full sodaynly, halflyng abaist for schame;
And, smylyng thus, sche said to me in game,
"Quhat dois thou here? Quho has the hider sent?
Say on anon, and tell me thyn entent.

CLXVII

I se wele, by thy chere and contenance,
There is sum thing that lyis the on hert,
It stant noght with the as thou wald, perchance?"
"Madame," quod I, "for lufe is all the smert
That euer I fele, endlang and ouerthwert.
Help, of 3our grace, me wofull wrechit wight,
Sen me to cure ye powere haue and myght."

CLXIV. 1. quhelë, W. 2. Text, W. W.; lawë vnto, S. 3. longë, S. 5. clymben, S. 6. so sore, S.
CLXV. 1. quhareas, S. 3. thaim, S. 5. newë, S. 6. That thought to, S.

(164)

And on the quhele was lytill void space
Wele nere oure straught fro lawe to hye
And they were ware þat long sat In place
So tolter quhilum did sche It to wrye
There was bot clymbe and ryght dounward hye
And sum were eke þat fallyng had sore
There for to clymbe/thaire corage was no more

(165)

I sawe also þat quhere sum were slungin
Be quhirlyng of the quhele vnto the ground
Full sudaynly sche hath vp ythrungin
And set thame on agane full sauf and sound
And euer I sawe a new swarm̄ abound
That to clymbe vpward vpon the quhele
In stede of thame þat myght no langer rele

(166)

And at the last In presene of thame all
That stude about sche clepit me be name
And therewith apon kneis gan I fall
Full sodaynly hailsing/·abaist for schame
And smylyng thus sche said to me in game
Quhat dois thou here/quho has the hider sent
Say on anon̄/·and tell me thyn̄ entent

(167)

I se wele by thy chere and contenance
There is sum thing þat lyis the on hert
~~Ai~~ It stant noght with the as thou wald perchance
Madame quod I·/.for lufe Is all the smert
That euer I fele endlang and ouerthwert
Help of 3our grace me wofull wrechit wight
Sen me to cure/·3e powere haue and myght

CLXVIII

"Quhat help," quod sche, "wold thou that I ordeyne,
To bringen the vnto thy hertis desire?"
"Madame," quod I, "bot that ȝour grace dedeyne,
Off ȝour grete myght, my wittis to enspire,
To win the well that slokin may the fyre,
In quhich I birn. A, goddesse fortunate!
Help now my game, that is in point to mate."

CLXIX

"Off mate?" quod sche, "O! verray sely wrech,
I se wele by thy dedely coloure pale,
Thou art to feble of thy-self to streche
Vpon my quhele, to clymben or to hale
Withoutin help; for thou has fundin stale
This mony day, withoutin werdis wele,
And wantis now thy veray hertis hele.

CLXX

Wele maistow be a wrechit man ycallit,
That wantis the confort suld thy hert glade;
And has all thing within thy hert ystallit,
That may thy ȝouth oppressen or defade.
Though thy begynnyng hath bene retrograde,
Be froward, opposyt, thare-till aspert,
Now sall thai turne, and luken on the dert."

CLXXI

And therewith-all vnto the quhele in hye
Sche hath me led, and bad me lere to clymbe,
Vpon the quhich I steppit sudaynly.
"Now hald thy grippis," quod sche, "for thy tyme
An houre and more it rynnis ouer prime;
To count the hole, the half is nere away;
Spend wele, therefore, the remanant of the day.

CLXVIII. 2. bringen, S. CLXIX. 4. clymben, S.
CLXX. 1. y-callit, S. 2. S. omits that before "suld" and reads "hertē." 3. hertē stallit, S. 6. thare-till, W. W. 6. (appert). 7. luken, S. (lukis.)

(168)

Quhat help quod sche wold thou þat I ordeyne
To bring the vnto thy hertis desire
Madame quod I bot þat 3our grace dedeyne
Off 3our grete mygh*t* my wittis to enspire
To win the well þat slokin may the fyre
In quhich I birn/a goddesse fortunate
Help now my game þat is in poynt to mate

(169)

Off mate quod sche o verray sely wrech
I se wele by thy dedely coloure pale
Thou art to feble of thy self to streche
Vpon my quhele to clymbe or to hale
Withoutin help·for thou has fundin stale
This mony day w*ith*outin werdis wele
And wantis now thy veray hertis hele

(170)

Wele maistow be a wrechit man callit
That wantis the confort þat suld thy hert glade
And has all thing within thy hert stallit
That may thy 3outh oppressen or defade
Though thy begy*n*nyng hath bene retrograde
Be froward opposyt quhare till aspert
Now sall thai turn/and luke on the dert

(171)

And therew*ith* all vnto the quhele In hye
Sche hath me led/·and bad me lere to clymbe
Vpon the quhich I steppit sudaynly
Now hald thy grippis quod sche for thy tyme
An houre and more It ry*n*nis ouer prime
To count the hole/the half is nere away
Spend wele therefore the remanant of the day

CLXXII

Ensample," quod she, "tak of tho tofore
That fro my quhele be rollit as a ball;
For the nature of it is euermore,
After ane hicht, to vale and geue a fall,
Thus, quhen me likith, vp or doune to fall:
Fare-wele," quod sche; and by the ere me toke
So ernestly, that therewithall I woke.

CLXXIII

O besy goste! ay flikering to and fro,
That neuer art in quiet nor in rest,
Till thou cum to that place that thou cam fro,
Quhich is thy first and verray proper nest:
From day to day so sore here artow drest,
That with thy flesche ay walking art in trouble,
And sleping eke; of pyne so has thou double.

CLXXIV

Touert my-self all this mene I to loke.
Though that my spirit vexit was tofore
In sueuenyng, alssone as euer I woke
By twenty-fold it was in trouble more,
Bethinking me with sighing hert and sore
That I nan othir thingis bot dremes had,
Nor sekernes, my spirit with to glad.

CLXXV

And therewith sone I dressit me to ryse,
Fulfild of thoght, pyne, and aduersitee;
And to my-self I said into this wise;
"A! merci, Lord! quhat will ȝe do with me?
Quhat lyf is this? quhare hath my spirit be?
Is this of my forethoght impressioun,
Or is it from the hevin avisioun?

CLXXIV. 1. Towart, S., in note. Couert myself all this ment I to loke, W. 3. sueuenyng, S. 6. I, S.
CLXXV. 3. vpon this wise, S.

(172)

Ensample q*uo*d sche/tak of this tofore
That fro my quhele be rollit as a ball
For the nature of It is eu*er*more
After ane hicht to vale/·and geue a fall
Thus quhen me likith vp or doun̄ to fall
Fare wele q*uo*d sche/·and by the ere me toke
So ernestly/:þ*at* therew*ith*all I woke

(173)

O besy goste ay flikering to a*nd* fro
That neu*er* art In quiet nor In rest
Till thou cu*m* to that place þ*at* thou cam fro
Quhich is thy first/and verray prop*er* nest
From day to day so sore here artow drest
That w*ith* thy flesche ay walking art in trouble
And sleping eke of pyne so has thou double

(174)

Couert* my self all this mene I to loke
Though þat my spirit vexit was tofore
In sueuyng alssone as eu*er* I woke
By xx^{tj} fold It was In trouble more
Bethinking me with sighing hert a*nd* sore
That nan̄ othir thingis bot dremes had
Nor sek*er*nes/·my spirit w*ith* to glad

(175)

And ther*ewith* sone I dressit me to rys*e*
Fulfild of thog*ht*/·pyne and adu*er*sitee
And to my self I said In this wis*e*
† b Quhat lyf is this/·quhare hath my spirit be
a A m*er*ci lord quhat will ȝe do w*ith* me
Is this of my for*e*thog*ht* Impressiou*n*
Or Is It from the hevin avisiou*n*

* The initial *C* may be a *T*. There seems in MS. a very, very faint left limb to the letter.

† *b* and *a* are in handwriting of scribe.

CLXXVI

And gif ȝe goddis, of ȝoure puruiance,
Haue schewit this for my reconforting,
In relesche of my furiouse pennance,
I ȝow beseke full humily of this thing,
That of ȝoure grace I myght haue takenyng,
Gif it sal be as in my slepe before
ȝe shewit haue." And forth, withoutin more,

CLXXVII

In hye vnto the wyndow gan I walk,
Moving within my spirit of this sight,
Quhare sodeynly a turture, quhite as calk,
So evinly vpon my hand gan lyght,
And vnto me sche turnyt hir full ryght;
Off quham the chere in hir birdis aport
Gave me in hert kalendis of confort.

CLXXVIII

This fäir bird ryght in hir bill gan hold
Of red iorofflis with thair stalkis grene
A fäir branche, quhare writtin was with gold
On euery list with branchis bryght and schene
In compas fair, full plesandly to sene,
A plane sentence, quhich, as I can deuise
And haue in mynd, said ryght vpon this wise:

CLXXIX

"Awak! awake! I bring, lufar, I bring
The newis glad, that blisfull bene and sure
Of thy confort; now lauch, and play, and syng,
That art besid so glad an auenture;
For in the hevyn decretit is thi cure."
And vnto me, the flouris fair present,
With wyngis spred hir wayis furth sche went.

CLXXVII. 3. chalk, S. 7. hertē, S.
CLXXVIII. 3. fairē, S. 4. (lettris). 7. vpon, S.
CLXXIX. 4. (That has betid).

(176)

And gif ȝe goddis of ȝoure *pur*uiance
Haue schewit this for my reconforting
In relesche of my furiouse pe*n*nance
I ȝow beseke full huily of this thing
That of ȝoure grace I my*gh*t haue more takenyng
Gif It salbe/·as in my slepe before
ȝe schewit haue/·and forth w*ith*outin more

(177)

In hye vnto the wyndow gan I walk
Moving within my spirit of this sight
Quhare sodeynly a *tur*ture quhite as calk
So evinly vpon my hand gan ly*gh*t
And vnto me sche *tur*nyt hir full ry*gh*t
Off quham the chere in hir birdis aport
Gave me in hert kalendis of confort

(*Another scribe begins here.*)

(178)

This fair bird ry*gh*t In hir bill gan hold
Of red Iorofflis with thair stalkis grene
A fair branche quhare writtin was with gold
On euery list witht branchis bry*gh*t *and* schene
In compas fair full plesandly to sene
A plane sentence quhich as I can deuise
And haue In mynd said ry*gh*t on þis wise

(179)

Awak awake I bring lufar I bring
The newis glad that blisfull ben and sure
Of thy confort now lauch *and* play *and* syng
That art besid so glad an auenture
For In the hevyn decretit is þe cure
And vnto me the flouris fair present
With wyng*is* spred hir wayis furth sche went

CLXXX

Quhilk vp a-non I tuke, and as I gesse,
Ane hundreth tymës, or I forthir went,
I haue it red, with hert full of glaidnese ;
And, half with hope, and half with dred, it hent,
And at my beddis hed, with gud entent,
I haue it fair ypynnit vp, and this
First takyn was of all my help and blisse ;

CLXXXI

The quhich treuly therefter, day be day,
That all my wittis maistrit had tofore,
From hennësferth the paynis did away.
And schortly, so wele Fortune has hir bore,
To quikin treuly day by day my lore,
To my larges that I am cumin agayne,
To blisse with hir that is my souiraine.

CLXXXII

Bot for als moche as sum micht think or seyne,
Quhat nedis me, apoun so litill evyn,
To writt all this ? I ansuere thus ageyne,—
Quho that from hell war croppin onys in hevin,
Wald efter o thank for ioy mak sax or sevyn.
And euery wicht his awin suete or sore
Has maist in mynde : I can say 3ou no more.

CLXXXIII

Eke quho may in this lyfe haue more plesance
Than cum to largesse from thraldom and peyne,
And by the mene of Luffis ordinance,
That has so mony in his goldin cheyne ?
Quhich thinkis to wyn his hertis souereyne,
Quho suld me wite to write thar-of, lat se !
Now sufficiance is my felicitee,

CLXXX. 3. hertëfull, S. 6. fairë, S.
CLXXXI. 1. quhichë, S. 3. From hennësferth, S. CLXXXII. 5. (of thank).
CLXXXIII. 5. thinkis, S. 7. pointing felicitee, W. W. ; felicitee. S. sufficiante, S.

(180)

Quhilk vp anon I tuke and as I gesse
Ane hundreth tymes or I forthir went
I haue It red with hertfull glaidnese
And half with hope and half with dred It hent
And at my beddis hed with gud entent
I haue It fair pynnit vp and this
First takyn was of all my help and blisse.

(181)

The quhich treuly efter day be day
That all my wittis maistrit had to fore
Quhich hensferth the paynis did away
And schortly so wele fortune has hir bore
To quikin treuly day by day my lore
To my larges that I am cumin agayn
To blisse with hir that is my souiraine

(182)

Bot for als moche as sum micht think or seyne
Quhat nedis me apoun so litill evyn
To writt all this I ansuere thus ageyne
r
Quho that from hell war coppin onys In hevin
Wald efter O thank for Ioy mak vi or vii
And euery wicht his awin suete or sore
Has maist In mynde I can say 3ou no more

(183)

Eke quho may In this lyfe haue more plesance
Than cum to largesse from thraldom and peyne
And by the mene of luffis Ordinance
That has so mony In his goldin cheyne
Quhich this to wyn his hertis souereyne
Quho suld me wite to write thar of lat se
Now sufficiance Is my felicitee

CLXXXIV

Beseching vnto fair Venus abufe,
For all my brethir that bene in this place,
This is to seyne, that seruandis ar to Lufe,
And of his lady can no thank purchase,
His paine relesch, and sone to stand in grace,
Boith to his worschip and to his first ese;
So that it hir and resoun noght displese:

CLXXXV

And eke for tham that ar noght entrit inne
The dance of lufe, bot thidder-wart on way,
In gudë tyme and sely to begynne
Thair prentissehed, and forthir-more I pray
For thame that passit ben the mony affray
In lufe, and cummyn ar to full plesance,
To graunt tham all, lo! gude perseuerance:

CLXXXVI

And eke I pray for all the hertis dull,
That lyven here in sleuth and ignorance,
And has no curage at the rose to pull,
Thair lif to menden and thair saulis auance
With thair suete lore, and bring thame to gude chance;
And quho that will noght for this prayer turn
Quhen thai wald faynest speid, that thai may spurn.

CLXXXVII

To rekyn of euery-thing the circumstance,
As hapnit me quhen lessen gan my sore,
Of my rancoure and al my wofull chance,
It war to long, I lat it be tharefor.
And thus this flouris, I can seye no more,
So hertly has vnto my help attendit,
That from the deth hir man sche has defendit.

CLXXXIV. 1. (Beseche I).
CLXXXVII. 3. al my, S. 5. floure I can seye ȝou no more, S.

(184)

Beseching vnto fair venus abufe
For all my brethir þat ben In this place
This Is to seyne þat seruandis are to lufe
And of his lady can no thank purchase
His paine relesch and sone to stand In grace
Boith to his worschip and to his first ese
So that It hir and and resoun noght displese

(185)

And eke for tham þat ar noght entrit Inne
The dance of lufe bot thidderwart on way
In gude tym and sely to begynne
b For thame that passit ben þe mony affray } tr*
a Thair prentissehed and forthirmore I pray }
In lufe and cunnyng are to full plesance
To graunt tham all/lo gude perseuerance

(186)

And eke I pray for all the hertis dull
That lyven here In sleuth and Ignorance
And has no curage at the rose to pull
Thair lif to mend and thair saulis auance
With thair suete lore and bring tham to gude chance
And quho that will noght for this preyer turn
Quhen thai wald faynest speid þat þai may spurn

(187)

To Rekyn of euery thing the circumstance
As hapnit me quhen lessen gan my sore
Of my rancoure and wofull chance
It war to long-I lat It be tharefor
And thus this flouris I can seye no more
So hertly has vnto my help attendit
That from the deth hir man sche has defendit

* The marks *b*, *a*, *tr*, and } are written by a later hand and not by the scribe.

CLXXXVIII

And eke the goddis mercifull virking,
For my long pane and trewe seruice in lufe,
That has me gevin halely myn asking,
Quhich has my hert for euir sett abufe
In perfyte ioy, that neuir may remufe,
Bot onely deth : of quhom, in laud and prise,
With thankfull hert I say richt in this wise :—

CLXXXIX

"Blissit mot be the blisfull goddis all,
So fair that glitteren in the firmament !
And blissit be thare myght celestiall,
That haue convoyit hale, with one assent,
My lufe, and to so glade a consequent !
And thankit be Fortunys exiltree
And quhele, that thus so wele has quhirlit me.

CXC

Thankit mot be, and fair in lufe befall
The nychtingale, that, with so gud entent,
Sang thare of lufe the notis suete and small,
Quhair my fair hertis lady was present,
Hir with to glad, or that sche forthir went !
And thou gerafloure, mot i-thankit be
All othir flouris for the lufe of the !

CXCI

And thankit be the fäir castell wall,
Quhare as I quhilom lukit furth and lent.
Thankit mot be the sanctis marciall,
That me first causit hath this accident.
Thankit mot be the grenë bewis bent,
Throu quhom, and vnder, first fortunyt me
My hertis hele, and my confort to be.

CLXXXIX. 1. heyë goddis, S. 5. so glade, S.
CXCI. 1. fairë, S. 3. (factis marciall).

(188)

And eke the goddis mercifull virking
For my long pane and trewe seruice In lufe
That has me gevin halely myn asking
Quhich has my hert for euir sett abufe
In perfyte Ioy that neuir may remufe
Bot onely deth of quhom In laud and prise
With thankfull hert I say richt In this wise

(189)

Blissit mot be the goddis all
So fair that glitteren In þe firmament
And blissit be thare myght celestiall
That haue convoyit hale with one assent
My lufe and to glade a consequent
And thankit be fortunys exiltree
And quhile that thus so wele has quhirlit me

(190)

Thankit mot be and fair and lufe befall
The nychtingale þat with so gud entent
Sang thare of lufe the notis suete and small
Quhair my fair hertis lady was present
Hir with to glad or that sche forthir went
And thou gerafloure mot I thankit be
All othir flouris for þe lufe of þe

(191)

And thankit be þe fair castell wall
Quhare as I quhilom lukit furth and lent
Thankit mot be the sanctis marciall
That me first causit hath this accident
Thankit mot be the grene bewis bent
Throu quhom and vnder first fortunyt one
My hertis hele and my confort to be

CXCII

For to the presence suete and delitable,
Rycht of this floure that full is of plesance,
By processe and by menys fauorable,
First of the blisfull goddis purueyance,
And syne throu long and trew contynuance
Of veray faith in lufe and trew seruice,
I cumin am, and forthir in this wise.

CXCIII

Vnworthy, lo, bot onely of hir grace,
In lufis 3ok, that esy is and sure,
In guerdoun fair of all my lufis space
Sche hath me tak, hir humble creature.
And thus befell my blisfull auenture,
In 3outh, of lufe, that now from day to day,
Flourith ay newe, and 3it forthir, I say.

CXCIV

Go litill tretise, nakit of eloquence,
Causing simplese and pouertee to wit,
And pray the reder to haue pacience
Of thy defaute, and to supporten it,
Of his gudnese thy brukilnese to knytt,
And his tong for to reulen and to stere,
That thy defautis helit may ben here.

CXCV

Allace! and gif thou cummyst in the presence,
Quhare as of blame faynest thou wald be quite,
To here thy rude and crukit eloquens,
Quho sal be thare to pray for thy remyt?
No wicht, bot geve hir merci will admytt
The for gud will, that is thy gyd and stere,
To quham for me thou pitousely requere.

CXCII. 7. I cum am and 3it, S.; cumen, W.
CXCIII. 3. eke, S. CXCIV. 6. reulen, S.
CXCV. 1. cummyst (=cum'st) in the presence, W. W.; In presence, S

(192)

For to the presēnce suete and delitable
Rycht of this floure þat full Is of plesance
By processe and by menys fauorable
First of þe blisfull goddis purueyance
And syne throu long and trew contynuance
Of veray faith̄ In lufe and trew seruice
I cumin am and forthir In this wise

(193)

Vnworthy lo bot onely of hir grace
In lufis 3ok that esy is and sure
In guerdoun of all my lufis space
Sche hath me tak hir humble creature
And thus befell my blisfull auenture
In 3outh of lufe that now from̄ day to day
Flourith̄ ay newe and 3it forthir I say

(194)

Go litill tretise nakit of eloquēnce
Causing simplese and pouertee to wit
And pray the reder to haue pacience
Of thy defaute and to supporten̄ It
Of his gudnese thy brukilnese to knytt
And his tong for to reule and to stere
That thy defautis helit may ben̄ here

(195)

Allace and gif thou cummyst In þe presence
Quhare as of blamē faynest thou wald be quite
To here thy rude and crukit eloquens
Quho salbe thare to pray for thy remyt
No wicht bot geve hir merci will admytt
The for gud will that Is thy gyd and stere
To quham̄ for me thou pitously requere

CXCVI

And thus endith the fatall influence,
Causit from hevyn, quhare power is commytt
Of gouirnance, by the magnificence
Of Him that hiest in the hevin sitt:
To Quham we thank that all oure lyf hath writt,
Quho coutht it red, agone syne mony a ȝere,
Hich in the hevynnis figure circulere.

CXCVII

Vnto the ympis of my maisteris dere,
Gowere and Chaucere, that on the steppis satt
Of rethorike, quhill thai were lyvand here,
Superlatiue as poetis laureate,
In moralitee and eloquence ornate,
I recommend my buk in lynis sevin,
And eke thair saulis vnto the blisse of hevin. Amen.

Explicit, &c. &c.

Quod Jacobus Primus, Scotorum Rex Illustrissimus.

CXCVI. 5. lif hath, S. CXCVII. 1. the impais, S.

(196)

And thus endith the fotall Influence
Causit from hevyn quhare powar Is co*m*mytt
Of gouirnance by the magnificence
Of him that hiest In the hevin sitt
To quham we think that all oure hath writt
Quho coutht It red agone syne mony a ȝere
Hich In the hevy*n*nis figure circulere

(197)

Vnto Inpnis of my mast*er*is dere
Gowere and chaucere that on þe steppis satt
Of rethorike quhill thai were lyvand here
Superlatiue as poetis laureate
In moralitee and eloquence ornate
I reco*m*mend my buk In lynis sevin
And eke thair saulis vnto þe bliss*e* of hevin Amen

Explicit &c &c

Quod Iacobus Primus scoto*rum* rex Illustrissimus

POEM IN *GUDE AND GODLIE BALLATIS.*

Sen throw vertew Incressis dignitie,
And vertew is flour and rute of Nobles ay,
Of ony wit or quhat estate thow be,
His steppis follow, and dreid for none effray:
Eiect vice, and follow treuth alway,
Lufe maist thy God, that first thy lufe began,
And for ilk Inche he will the quyte ane span.

Be not ouir proude in thy prosperitie,
For as it cummis, sa it will pass away,
The time to compt is schort, thou may weill se,
For of grene gres sone cummis wallowit hay,
Labour in treuth, quhilk suith is of thy fay,
Traist maist in God, for he best gyde the can,
And for ilk Inche he will the quyte ane span.

Sen word is thrall, and thocht is only fre,
Thow dant thy toung, that power hes and may,
Thow steik thy Ene fra warldis vanitee,
Refraine thy lust, and harkin quhat I say,
Graip or thow slyde, and keip furth the hie way,
Thow hald the fast vpon thy God and man,
And for ilk Inche he will the quyte ane span.

Quod King James the First.

Bannatyne MS. 2. nobill-ray.
3. vertewis estait that evir.—Duplex reading, stait.
4. persew . . the non. 5. Exyle all. 6. most. 7. the quyt a.
8. of. 9, so. 10. ma. 12. quhill licht is of the day.
13. most . . help. 14. as in 7. 15. wordis are.
17. thyne. 18. Refrene . . and harkin.
19. creip furth on the. 20. and keip thy faith thow aw to.
21. as in 7.

Thow that the lesson kepane in bonyumnes
The werldis thing of this world thinks a full
Here is no home here nyt bot werldrowne
Thirth pylgrym forth bust out of thi stall
Lift up thyne eine and thank the god of all
Thinck the self that vthire forbe tak kend
And trewlye the fall delyuer that nit no dend

Sen treuth brotherly concord discretione
And ebirtuth flowre and zit nit of nobley
Of any werld of quhat astat yow be
Thir steppis seek and dreid the noy affray
Expell all wyce and folish trenthe al way
Lufe most the god that first the lust bocht
And for vs vnth he wyll the empire al stanc

Sen word is thrall and thou nit only seruc
Vnto dant the thingis thatt pocbay has so may
Thow set thyne eine fra warldly vanitie
Reflexy the lust and harkyne quhatt I say
Stranye it yow sted and trup fut one the way
Seyo the behest one to the lord and thanc
Affore vth vnth he wyll the empyt afpanc

Sen in warist intend vs thingis mans
And quid fore labor all mir hans
Thay he and lalb as rius regnens
And do syk labbore as thad affeyre
Sum ebirtu sum pray sum seyo sufferance
Sum defend the peopyll fra wrangwyse
Thow that vas mad nothy fork na honour
Thett may reteryff thyme fra labbor

pmpter Salomone sais in his buk of his fotempolation
and detestatione of this warld that al thyng
warld is bot vanite of vanitez and wordly

STANZAS 2 AND 3 *BALLAD OF GOOD COUNSEL* AS IN CAMBRIDGE MS.

BALLAD OF GOOD COUNSEL AS IN CAMBRIDGE MS.

Sen trew Vertew encressis dignytee
And wertew floure and rut is of noblay,
Of ony weill, of quhat esstat thow bee,
His steppis sew, and dreid the non affray :
Exill all wyce, and folow treuthe al way :
Luf most thi god, that fyrst thi lust began,
And for ilk ynch he wyll the quyte a spane.

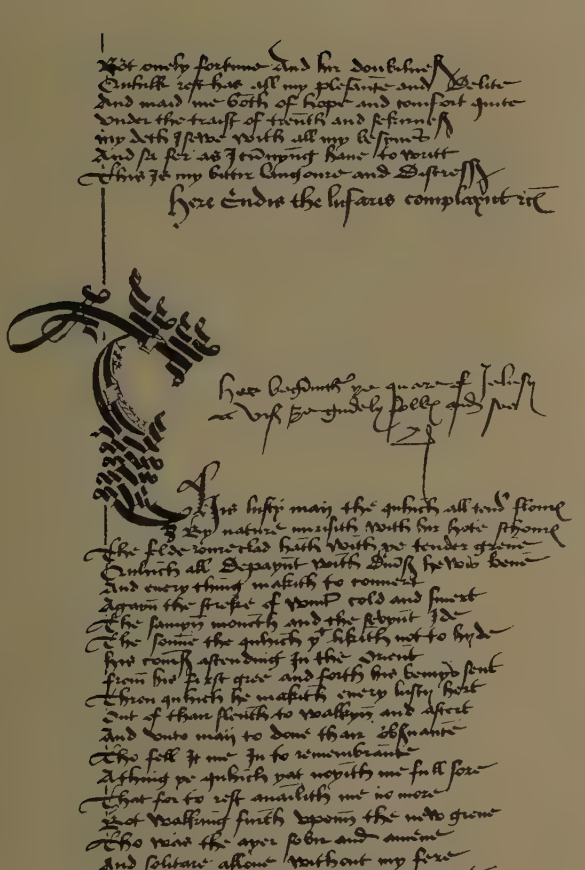
Sen word is thrall, and thocht is only free,
þow dant thi twnge, that powar has & may.
Thow set thine erne fra worldly vanitee,
Restren thi lust, and harkyne quhat I say.
Stramp, or þow slyd, and crep furt one the way ;
Kep thi behest one to thi lord, and thane
Fore ilk ynch he will the quyt aspane.

THE QUARE OF JELUSY

Here beginnith þe quare of Ielusy
Avise, ȝe gudely folk*is*, and see.

THIS lusty maii, the quhich all tend*er* flour*is*
By nature nurisith with hir hote schour*is*,
The felde oureclad hath with þe tender grene
Quhich all depaynt with diu*erse* hewis bene,
And euery thing makith to conuert
Agayn the stroke of winter cold and smert:
The samyn̄ moneth and the sevynt Ide
The sonne, the quhich þ*at* likith not to hyde
His course, ascending In the Orient
From̄ his first gree, and forth his bemys sent,
Throu quhich he makith euery lusty hert
Out of thair sleuth to walkyn̄ and astert
And vnto maii to done thair obseruance.
Tho fell It me In to remembrance
Athing þe quhich þ*at* noyith me full sore
That for to rest auailith me no more;
Bot walking furth vpoun̄ the new grene,
Tho was the ayer sobir and amene,
And solitare, allone, without my fere,
Vnto a bonk, quhare as a small ryuere
Makith his course doun̄ by a woddis syde,
Quhois levis fair did all the bewis hyde,
I past me furth, remembring to and fro
All on̄ this warldis changeing and his wo,

5. (sche) makith. 9. (ascendit). 14. rememb(e)rance.
15. A thing. 17. newē. 19. withoutyn fere.



BEGINNING OF *QUARE OF IELUSY*.

To face p. 104.

And namely on̄ þe suffrance and þe peyne
Quhich most hath do my carefull hert constreyne:
The quhich as now me nedith not report.
For thare Is non̄ that likith to support
Nor power has; quharefor I will sustene,
And to no wicht I will compleyne nor mene,
Bot suffering furth as I haue done to fore
Myn̄ hevynes and wo: quhat Is thare more?
Wele long I walkit there, till at þe last
Myn̄ eye estward agayne the sonne I cast,
Quhare as I saugh among the levis grene
A lady, quhich that was ryght wele besene,
And als fresch In hir beautee and array
As þe bricht sonne at rising of þe day.
Off coloure was sche lik vnto þe rose,
Boith quhite and red ymeynt; and I suppose

One̅ gudliare that nature neuir wroght;
Of lustyhede ne lakkit sche ryght noght.
My spirit coud noght resemble hir, nor gesse,
Bot vnto Dyane, or sum hie goddesse.
And preuely I hid me of entent
Among the levis to here quhat sche ment.
And forth a passe sche walkit sobirly,
There as I was; and passing cam̄ so ny
That I persauit haue vpoun̄ hir chere
The cristall teris falling from̄ hir eyne̅ clere.
It semyt wele that wo hir hert constreynit,
Sche sorowit, sche sikit, sche sore compleynit;
So sobirly sche spak that I no myght
Not here one̅ word quhat þat sche said aryght:
Bot wele I herd sche cursit preualy
The cruell vice of causeles Ielousy.
Sche wepit so a quhile, till at þe last
With that hir woce and eyne to hevin̄ sche cast
And said: "goddesse Imeneus! thou rewe

32. Myne. 43. spreit. 46. herē.
50. fall from hir eyēn.

Of me, In to the dangerouse bound of newe
Ycome ; allace ! quhich be the cause þat I
Am turment thus, withoutyn cause or quhy,
So sudaynly vnder 3oure strong lowe ;
For It the quhich Is vnto me vnknowe :
As als sekirly here In thy presence,
Geue euirmore I didin suich offence
The scharp deth mote perce me throuch þe hert
So that on fute from hens I neuir astert :
Nor neuirmore It was In myn entent,
Thare of I am both hole and Innocent.
And, gif I say false, Pluto þat Is king,
Quhich the derk regioun hath in his gouernyng,
Mote me In to his fyry cart do ta,
As quhilom did he to Proserpina :
And thare my body and my soule also
With him ay duell In torment and In wo.
O Dyane ! goddesse of fredome and of ese,
Vnder quhom I haue bot thraldome and disese,
Litill of treuth, of gladnese, or plesance,
So helpith me agayn this waryit chance.
For of this gilt thou knowis wele my part,
And Iupiter that knowith euery hart
Wote that I am sakelese, me defende !
Ne for no want nor for to haue commend
Not say I this, for here nys non bot 3e,
Of thilk hid thing that knowith þe veritee ;
And sen thou wote þat my complaynt Is treuth,
Off pitee than compassioun haue and reuth ;
My life to gone mak on ane othir dance,
Or me delyuer of this warldis chance ;
Quhich Is to say that efter, as I deserue,
That I may lyve, or sodaynly to sterue."
And thus apoun the goddis can sche crye,
And euir among sche cursit Ielousye ;

63. strongē. 65. Als sekirly as ; And als, B.
66. did ane, did in, B. 67. scharpē. 72. in gouernyng.
78. Off quhom. 83. And wote. 86. Of ilk.

With that sche sichit with a ryght pitouse chere :
Allace ! gret reuth hir pleynyng was to here ;
Hir coloure, quhich that was so fair to sene,
It changit oft, and wexit pale and grene.
Hir to behold thare was no gentill hert
Than he schuld haue compassioun of hir smert,
To sene from hir lusty eyne auaille
The glettering teris, als thik as ony haile,
As thai descendet, from the ayr abone
Vpoun the lusty colourit rose in Iune,
Quhen thai ar fairest on thair stalkis newe;
So was the teris vpoun hir fresch hewe.
Allace hir chere ! allace hir countenance !
For to behald It was a grete pennance.
And as I was vprising for to go
To confort hir and counsele of hir wo,
So come one othir lady, hir allone,
The nerrest way vnto hir Is sche gone :
And one thai tuo ysamyn gan to fare,
Bot quhens thai past I can noght 3ou declare.
Bot quhen that thai out of my sicht were gone,
And I in wod belevit me allone,
My goste hath take In sad remembering
This ladies chere and wofull compleynyng,
Quhich to my hert sat full very nere;
And to my selfe I thoght In this manere:
Quhat may this mene ? quhat may this signifie ?
I can noght wit quhat is the cause or quhy
This lady suffrit this strong aduersitee ;
For, as me think, In erde suld no thing be
Possible to ony wicht of wele willing
As ony richesse or hertis cherising,
And euery thing according to plesance,
Than sche thare of suld haue full suffisance
To gladin hir and plesyn with thair chere,
Bot deth of lufe or deth of frendis dere,

100. Bot he. 101. senē. 106. freschē.
116. I above line in MS. 119. hertē. 123. suffrith.
125. wele-willing. 128. That sche.

Quhich is Inpossible for to bring ageyn.
For thing possible, me thing, sche suld nogȝt pleyne;
For sche for fairhede and for suete having
Mygȝt wele accorde for ony wicht lyving.
Bot tho It fell In to my fantasy
How sche so oftsyse cursit Ielousy:
Than thouth I thus: gife lyvis ony wicht
Quhich fynd In to his cherlisch hert mygȝt
Thus for to turment suich one creature,
To done hir wo, to done hir payne endure:
Now wele I wote It Is no questioun
There lyveth none In to þis erth adoun,
Bot he cummyn of sum cherlisch kynd,
For othir wayis, forsuth, I can nogȝt fynd
He suich one lady wold In ony way displese,
Or harme to do to hir honour or hir ese:
Be as be may, ȝit my consate me gevith
This Ielousye, the quhich þat sche repreuith,
Annoyith hir: and so It may wele be
Ofe euill condicioun euirmore Is he,
As þe Deuill ay birnyng In to hate,
Full of discorde and full of frese consate.
How euir It stonde, ȝit for this ladies sak
Samekle occupacioun schall I tak
Furth with for to syttyn doun and writt
Of Ielouse folk sum thing In to dispitt;
And quho be wroth, or quho be blith, here I
Am he the quhich that sett no thing thareby.
For ladyes schall no cause haue, gif I may,
Thame to displese for no thing schall I say
And gif I do, It Is of negligence
And lak of connyng and of eloquence,

131. impossible. 132. me think. 133. suete-having.
137. thogȝt; thoucht, B. 138. hertē.
143. Bot he be, B. 145. *one* and *in* redundant.
146. *to* after *harme*, and *do* both written above line, *to* redundant.
152. ferse. 154. Sa mekle. 155. Als furthwith.

For It Is no thing in to myn entent
To say the thing schall mak thame discontent:
Nor 3it no faithfull lover to displese,
Nor schewe nothing In contrare of thair ese,
Nor of no wicht of gude condycioun,
Bot of this wickit ymaginacioun,
Quhich by his name Is clepit Ielousye,
That euery louere hatith of Inuy;
And thouch all suich were wode in thair entent
As Herculese, quhen he him seluen brent,
Or cursit Nero, quhen he his perile sawe,
Of his own hond ymurderit and yslawe.
Ne rek I not, nor geve I of thame charge,
Lat thame go saile all in þe Deuillis barge:
And quhethir thay flete or In to hell synk
3it schall I writen eftir as I think.
And 3e louer*is* þat stondith furth In treuth,
Menyt eke, compassioun haue and reuth,
How ladies evill demanit ar oftsyse
By this foule wrech: go! helpith him dispise,
And to compleyne thair treuth and Innocence,
That mekle suffrith throuch thair owin pacience:
And of my termes and my rude endite
Excusith me, sett thai be Inperfyte,
Beseking 3ou at lovis hie reuerence,
Takith gude will in stede of eloquence.
For as I can, non othir wyse I may,
Thus I begyn, and on this wise I say.

O tendir 3outh, þat stant In Innocence,
Grundid on treuth, sadnes, and pacience,
Wommen I mene, all vicis contempnyng,
That void I bene of euery violens,
And full of pitee and beneuolence,

177. do synk. 180. Inuyit eke. 182. Displeis, B.
191. Stand, B. 194. ay bene; ay, B.

Humble and wise, ryght sobir and bening,
And full of merci vnto euery thing
In suffrance, scant of mony grete offense,
Full paciently In to this erth lyving

Vnder thraldome and mannis subiectioun:
And mekly suffrith thair correctioun.
Allace, þe wo! allace, þe sad greuance!
3e suffering men of euill condicioun,
Quhich hath no pitee and lakkith discrecioun,
And bene ysett vnder thair gouirnance.
3oure suffering thare Is mony one hard mischance,
3oure fairhede goth, 30ur 3outh Is broght a doun
With weping teris ay full of strong penance.

Loueris compleyne, and euery gentill wicht
Help for to mene, help for to waill a ryght;
Compassioun haue, and reuth vpoun þe nede,
In helping and supporting at 30ur myght
Thame quhich þat of 3oure gladnese is þe licht,
That Is to say all lusty womanhede,
Quhich 30u In lufe and cheualry doth fede
But quhom this warldis gladnese from his hicht
Schold sone avale and fallyn out of drede.

In to this erth quhat Is our gladnese here,
Iff that we lak þe presence and þe chere
Of thame that bene this wordis hole plesance?
Quhat ar we worth, gif that thair help ne were?
All vertuouse womman Salamon holdith dere,
And mekle worth of thair gouirnance:
Thai ar oure ese, thai ar oure suffisance:
From viciouse wommen passith my matere,
Thai most all gone apoun one othir dance.

198. ony grete.
220. worldis; warldis, B.
203. sufferen; In suffering, B.
223. worth is.

Allace, the wo ! (quho can it specify ?)
That wommen suffren ay withoutyn quhy
Into this erth In dangere and In vere ;
And to recist agaynis tyranny
Is no Defense ; thai haue to pas thareby
Bot weping with the teris of thair chere,
With syking, wailling, pleyning, and prayere ;
And euerich thing sustene thai paciently :
Thus livith ay thir sely women here.

This mene I all be wickit men oftsyse,
That giltles dooth thir ladies to suppryse
Withoutyn cause of ony maner thing,
And namely, by thair varyit tyrannyis,
The cruelteis, the wikkitnes þat lyis
In Ielousy and false ymagynyng,
Quhich harmyth all this world by his demyng,
Of quhom I think sum thing to deuise
And schewe to 3ou here eftir my connyng.

Quho schall me help, allace ! for to endite,
For to be waill, to compleyne, and to write
This vice that now so large is and commoun ?
What sall I say ? quhom sall I awite ?
For hie nor law Is non estate to quite,
Now all hath fele of thilkë poysoun.
Allace ! this false and wickit condicioun
The lustyhede and euery glade delyte
Hath of þis world full nere ybroght a doun.

For in þe tyme was of oure elderis old
Quhen Ielousy abhominable was hold,
Quhare ofe eschamith euery noble wy,
Than was thir ladies euer In honour hold,
Thair lustyhede, quhich causith mony fold

230. agayniš. 237. thair. 243. for to deuise.
246. bewaill. 248. and quhom. 253. adoun.

Fredome, gentrise, disport, and cheualry :
Thai syng, thai dance, and makith company.
Thame to defame was non þat durst nor wold,
As now thai do withoutyn cause or quhy.

And 3it I wote þir ladies bene echone
Als trew and sad as ony tyme aygone,
And ar to blame als litill or repreue ;
Bot now thai mon thame vttirly dispone
To duell as doth þe anker In þe stone,
Yf that thai think vndemyt for to leve ;
So fast encressyn can this false beleue
That In this world fewe ladyes ar, or none,
Quhich schall vnsclanderit from his tong escheve.

For ife sche makith chere or company,
As they were wount, he raisith vp his cry ;
And yfe sche loke, he Iugith of hir thoght ;
And sett sche loke or speke vnto no wy,
3it euill he demith In his fantasy ;
And be sche glad or wele besene In oucht,
This tyrane saith It Is nat do for nocht.
Allace ! by him the harm withoutyn ony quhy
Is euery day In to this world ywroght.

And ife a spouse stant with this vice, I wys
All thing is said, all thing Is wroght amys
In his consate ; and gif that ony way
Fro home he goth, his spy he schall noght mys,
That feynith tailis, no thing as It Is,
To plesyn him, for sum thing mon he say :
Than goth all rest, than goth all pes away ;
Farewele of lufe the gladnese and þe blis,
Fro he cum home als ferfuth as he may.

264. agone ; ygone.
279. *ony* redundant, B.
281. scant, B.
285. 3it no.
289. ferfurth, B.

And ȝit to hir Is double wo and grame,
For thouch that he be gilty In þe same
Full mony a lady nothing dare sche say;
And ȝit thir ladies In Ielousy to blame
Ar nogħt as men, for men haith now no schame
To be In love as double as þai may:
Thir ladies thus full mony a cause haue thay;
And thouch he speke, It hinderit nogħt his name;
And ife sche loke, It harmith hir all way.

This may be clept a wrech in till his mynd,
For, as we may In old bukis fynd,
In lak of hert ay stant this maladye.
To him þe quhich supposith aye behind,
And verreis to stond in lufis kynd,
For Salamoun saith "ane noble hert nor eye
Haith to enquere of ladis, nor espye,
Nor thame misdeme In to thair treuth vnkind,"
As doth this wrech, þat hot is Ielusye;

Off quhom In to *con*tempnyng and dispite
My will is gude for to declare and write,
Suppose of wit I empty be and bare;
Thou Ecco! quhich of chiding Is perfyte,
I the beseke thou helpith me to flyte,
And Thesiphone, thou lord of wo and care,
So helpith me this mater to declare
On Ielousy his malice to acquyte
With the supplee of euery trewe lufare.

Here efter folowis the trety In the reprefe of Ielousye.—

The passing Clerk, the grete philosophoure
Sydrake, enspirit of hevinly Influence,
Quhich holdyn was In to his tyme þe floure
Of clergy, wisedome, and intelligence,
In to his bukis declarith this sentence

297. hinderith. 300. Into. 303. for (?) to stond.
305. Hatith . . . or. 306. Or . . . vnto.

To Bokas King, amang his doctrins sere,
Off Ielousy, and saith In this manere.

He clepith It foly of one Ignorant,
The quhich euill humor*is* makith to procede,
As hert corrupt, or, quho It list to hant,
Malancholy. It raisith vp, but drede,
That lust of slepe, of mete, or drink of dede;
And wit of man confusith It all plane
With this hote feuir that Is cotidiane.

And suth It Is by resoun as we fynd
That this suspicioun and this Ielousye
Is and cum*m*ith of þe veray kynd
Of Herubus, the quhich þat of Invye
The fad*er* is, and be this resoun quhy
For euirmore In rancoure and in Ire
As Ethena he birnyth in þe fyre.

Thus with þe cheyne of sorow Is he bound
Furth in this world full of aduersitee,
His frendschip to no wicht It schall be found.
Quhy in him self ay at debate is he,
Withoutyn lufe, withoutyn cheritee?
In his consate and his ymagynyng
Ay to the worst he demith euery thing,

That in this erth lyueth thare no wicht
Of no condicioun nor of no degree,
In his presence þat wisedome has nor micht
To reule himself In ony wyse than he
Schall deme thareof amys, yset he be
Als chaste, als trew, and reule him self als wele
As euir hath do þe prophete Daniele.

333. Is born. 345. 3it lyueth.

For euery thoght and luke and countenance
Suspect he holdith In to his demyng,
And turnyth all to harm and to mischance.
This tygir with his false ymagynyng
lith as a deuill In to this erth lyving,
Contenyng aye In anger and In hate,
Both with him self and otheris at debate.

But cheritee thus euirmore he levith,
Quhich Crist of wedding clepith the habyte,
But quhilk of hevin euery wicht beleuyth,
But of þe blisse and of þe fest Is quyte.
And Paule thus to þe Corinthies doth write
Off faith, of hope, and eke of cheritee;
The last þe most he clepith of þe thre.

And he declarith In þe samyn chapture
That thouch men be as angelis eloquent,
Or all thair gudis gyvith to þe pure,
Or 3it for Crist ysuffering suich turment
To be yslawe, ymarterit, or brent,
Or doth all gude the quhich þat may be wroght,
And lakkith cheritee, all It auailit noght.

And euery wicht, þat hath discrecioun, wote
That quho thus lyvith In to Ielousye,
In Ire and malice birnyth ay full hote,
From worldis Ioy and hevinly companye
Excludit are thus throu thair false Inuye;
And oft thareof cummith mischance
As strife, debate, slauchter, and vengeance;

Quhare of I coud ane hundreth samplis tell
Of stories olde the quhich I lat oure go;
And als that In this tyme present befell,
Amongis quhilk we fynd how one of tho
His lady sleuch and syne him selfe also.

369. ysufferen. 372. auailith noght. 375. birnyng.
378. thare cummith suich, B.

In this Ilk lond withoutyn ony quhy
But onely for his wickit gelousy.

Off quhich full mony ensample may we fynde
Of olde ygone and new exper*i*ment,
That quho this gilt hauntith In his mynd
It hath been caus*e* quhy mony one were schent,
Sum sleuch him self and sum of euill entent
From Innocentis bereving oft þe lyfe,
Sum sleuch his lady and other sum his wife.

And Ielousye hath euir suich a tong
That from the malice of his hert pr*o*cedith,
By quhich that sclander wyde quhare is rong
And Crist he saith, "þat quhom of sclander dredith
Wo be to him!" and, more, vnto him bedith
Away the sclander*ous*e member for to kerue,
Quhich dampnyth 3*ou* eternaly to sterue.

And the first verteu, as poetis can declare,
Is tong with wys*e*dome to refreyne *and* stere,
Quhich vnto god Is n*e*rest euirmare;
And Salamoun saith, "fer better þat It were
Allone to duell with lyouns, than be nere
A sclander*ous*e tong of chiding and of hate:"
So odious*e* he holdith suche debate.

A poete saith "that neuir more Is pes,
Quhare suich a tong hath dominacioun,
Nor 3it the tong the quhich þat can no*gh*t ces,
Ay schewing his euill ymagynacioun,
And hath of langage no more discrecioun
Than he the quhich þat talkith in his slepe;
Nor vnto him aucht no wicht takyn kepe."

389. into. 396. wydēquhare; wyde (al) quhare, B.
403. evirmore, B.

Approvit Is by resoun and scripture
Of Crist and his apostlis euirilkone,
By prophetis, doctouris, poetis, and nature,
Off quhom this vice, of quhom this gilt Is tone,
And quhens he cummith and quhider he schall gone,
Quhich Is to say, þat Ielousy, at schort,
Commyth of þe deuill, and thedir schall resort.

As onys of one Emperoure we rede,
One haly man, and clepit was Henry,
In prayer, fasting, and in almouse dede;
And for no cause bot for his Ielousye,
The quhich he caucht, and for non othir quhy,
Vpoun his lufe trew and Innocent,
Efter his deth he come to Iugëment.

And thare, as In to reuelacioun
Till one of oure faderis old was sene,
He had ressauit his owin dampnacioun
For þe Ilk gilt of Ielusy, I mene,
Had noght Laurence the blisfull marter bene
By merci of oure blisfull salvatoure:
Suich Is þe fyne of all þis false erroure.

And quhare, of long, It hath bene said or this
"That of hote lufe ay cummith Ielousye,"
That sentence Is interpret to amys;
And, schortly said, noght vnderstand þe quhy.
For It Is noght for to presume thareby
That Ielousye, quhich is of vice þe ground,
Is in to lufe or in a lufare found.

For Ielousy, the quhich of lufe þat usith,
Is clept nothing bot of a simple drede,
As quhen thir lufaris remembrith and avisith,
Sum of thair wo and sum apoun thair nede,
And sum of gladnese þat doth of lufe procede

425. his false, B. 427. So trew; Baith trew, B.
428. cometh, B. 430. old faderis It.
432. For thilkë gilt (?). 444. clepit, B. 447. glaidness, B.

Throuch quhich thair hert*is* brynt ar In þe fyre,
Sum of grete raddoure and sum of hote desire.

That euery thing thai doubt þat may thame make
Of lufe þe grettest plesance to for go,
Throuch quhich sum lufaris hath suich drede ytake
That It to thame Is hevynes and wo;
Bot natw*ith*stonding ay thai reule thame so
Thair drede It Is to euery wicht vnknowe,
Thame likith not to sclander nor to schowe.

Thir Ielousyis full diu*erse* ar of kynd,
The tone It harmith to no creature
Bot secrete ded and symple, as we fynd
That lufaris In to lufing most endure,
That othir bereth all one othir cure,
He sclande*r*ith, feynyth, defamith, a*nd* furth criyth,
And lufe and euery lufar he Inuyith.

O wofull wrech and wickit euill consate!
O fals*e* suspicioun, nurist full of hate,
In hevin and erth þi harm is boith ywritte!
O cruell s*er*pent aye leving In awayte!
O sclande*r*ous*e* tong, fy on thy dissayte!
Quhare that thou lovith thou feynyth, þat ypocrite,
That thou art Ielous*e* lufe thou gevith þe wyte:
Thou leis thare of, as þat I schall declare
To vnderstand to euery trewe lufare.

For euery wicht þat Is with lufe ybound,
And sad and trewe In euery faith yground,
Syne likith no*gh*t to varye nor eschewe,
Rather suffer schall he þe dethis wound
Than In to him schall ony thing be found
That to this lady may displeas*e* or greue,
Or do to hir or to hir fame reprefe,

451. forgo. 454. noghtwithstanding, B.
456. noght, B. 459. dred (*?*).
467. lying In awayte. 468. fy, fy on. 469. thou ypocrite.
474. verray faith. 478. his lady, B. 479. Or to do, B.

For his desire is althir most to se
Hir stand In honoure and in prosperitee.

And contrair this thy cursit violence
Staunt ay for quhy: þi sclanderouse offense
Harmith thy lady most of ony wy,
Quhich stryvith euir agayn hir Innocence
That hath no suerd bot suffrance and pacience
For to resist agaynis hir Inymy,
The quhich thou art; and be þis resoun quhy:
Thou virkith that quhich may hir most anoye,
That Is to say, hir worschip to distroye.

For euery lady of honour and of fame
Lesse settith of hir deth than hir gud name;
Oft be experiment prouith It Is so
Off mony o lady, quhich done þe same,
Rather chesyn can thair deth than blame,
So lovyn thai thair honoure euirmo.
Fy on þe, wrech! fy on þe, lufis fo!
That for to sclander hath no schame nor drede
The Innocence and fame of womanhede.

Quhat helpith þe be clepit hir lovare,
Syne doith all thing þat most is hir contrare?
Quhat seruyth It? quhat vaillith It of ocht?
For go thy lady schall thou euirmare;
And set hir corse be thine, ȝit I declare
Hir hert Is gone, It seruyth þe of nocht,
Thare is no lufe quhare þat such thing is wrocht;
And thouch sche wold, It Is, as thou may fynd,
Contrair to lufe, to resoun, and to kynd.

Thus of þi lady makis thou thy fo,
Quhois hert of resoun most thou nede forgo
Be thyne owin gilt: may nothing It appese;

483. Staunt ay; for quhy, B. 487. resiste, B.
493. provit. 494. a, hath done, B. 495. And rather.
497. Fy on the wrech! B. 502. Quhat sayith, B. 503. Forgo.

And euery othir lady schall also
Ensample tak to aduenture euirmo
Vnder thine hond thair honour or thair ese;
And yfe thai do suppose thai haue disese,
Quho schall thame mene of weping eve and morowe,
Quhich seith to fore sen rynnyth on thair sorowe?

To euery lady schortly I declare
That thare thou art beith thare neuirmare
Rest nor quyete, treuly to conclude,
Nor grace, nor ese, nor lyving In welefare,
Bot euery thing of gladnese In his contrare.
For barane ay thou art and destitude
Off euery thing that soundith vnto gude:
A lady rather schuld hir deth ytake
Than suich a wrech till have on to hir make.

Quhare is þi wit or thy discrecioun
Quhich be thine euill ymaginacioun
In sewing thingis the quhich þat bene vnknewe?
Quhat helpith the thy false suspicioun?
Or quhat auailith thy wickit condicioun
To sayne or done þat thou most efter rewe?
O nyce foole, thine owin harm for to schewe!
Drink noght þe poysoun sene to fore thine eye,
Lest thou corrupt and venymyt be thare by.

For yf þe lestith as thou hath begonne
Of Ielousy to drinkyn of þe tonne,
Thare thy confusioun sene is þe before,
Thou wo yneuch vnto thy self hath wonne:
Fare wele of lufe, thy fortune is yronne,
Thy ladyis dangere hath thou euirmore;
For thy condicioun greueth hir so sore
And all þi lufe furth driuith in penance
With hevynes, and suffering grete mischance.

513. neuirmo. 519. quhare thou art, B. 522. In contrare.
526. onto. 529. Is sewing. 533. nycē, sewe (?). 543. lyfe (?).

For It hath bene and aye schall be also
Throuch Ielousy: In angir and In wo
Enduryn schall thy wrechit cursit life
Yfret ryght by the suerd of cruell syte a two:
Thy stormy thoght ay walking to and fro
As doth þe schip among þe wawis dryve,
And noght to pas and note quhare to aryve,
Bot ay in drede furth sailith eve and morowe,
So passith thou thy worldis course In sorowe.

(3it) scharp wo doth so þi dredfull goste bete
(That a)s þe tree is by the wormis frete
(So) art thou here ay wastit and ybrent,
(An)d birnyng as þe tigir ay In hete.
(Qu)ho lyvth nowe þat can þi wo repete?
(And of) thy selfe thou suffrith such torment,
(M)oving to deth ay in þin owen entent;
(Thi)ne owin harm consumith þe and anoyith,
(And eke) þi body and þi soule distroyith.

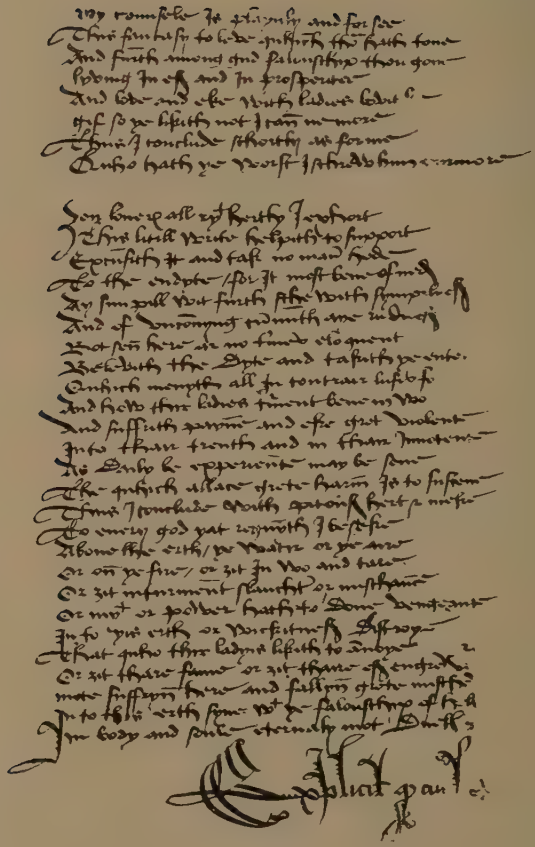
(For) sith It is thou failith not one of two,
(Th)at Is to say, Into this erth: In wo
Ay to endure, therefter to be schent
(Eterna)ly withoutyn ony ho:
(And wele) accordith It for to be so.
(He) is thy lord: the fader of haterent,
(Fro) quhens that cummith euery euill entent,
(Quhoi)s luve thou ay full besyly conseruith,
(For) thy desert rewardith the and seruith.

549. walt*er*ing. 551. and note to pas, B.
554-573. Here are occasional defects in MS. The *lacunæ* are supplied by Bannatyne Club editor as noted below.
554. For, B. (scharp wo doth so thi dredfull goste ybete).
555-556. as in Text. 557. (fyir). 559. Bot in.
560. Leving. 561. Thyne. 562. And both.
563. Bann. ed. (Bot.) suth (?). 564. As in Text.
565. Still to endure. (B. E.)
566-575. As in Text except 568 where *quho* is supplied.
569. thare cummith. 570. consumith, B.

(Thu)s may þou fynd þat proffit Is thare nō
(In Ie)lousy: tharefore thou þe dispone,
my counsele Is playnly; and for see
This fantasy to leve, quhich thou hath tone;
And furth among gud falouschip thou gone,
lyving In ese and In prosperitee
And love, and eke with ladies lovit be;
gif so þe likith not, I cān no more.
Thus I conclude, schortly; as for me
Quho hath þe worst I schrew him euirmore.

3ou loueris all ryght hertly I exhort
This litill write helpith to support,
Excusith It, and tak no maner hede
To the endyte; for It most bene of nede,
Ay simpill wit furth schewith sympilnese
And of vnconnyng cummith aye rudnese.
Bot sēn here ar no termes eloquent
Belevith the dyte and takith þe entent,
Quhich menyth all In contrair lufis fo,
And how thir ladies turment bene in wo
And suffrith payne and eke gret violence
Into thair treuth and in thair innocence,
As daily be experiēnce may be sene;
The quhich, allace! grete harm Is to sustene.
Thus I conclude with pitouse hert and meke,
To euery god þat regnyth I beseke
Aboue the erth, þe watir, or þe aire,
Or on þe fire, or 3it In wo and care,
Or 3it in turment, slauchter, or mischance,
Or mycht or power hath to done vengeance
In to þis erth, or wickitnese distroye:
That quho thir ladyis likith to anoye,

574. thou forsee, B.
583. writē.
580. and schortly.
589. Levith.



CLOSE OF *QUARE OF JELUSY*, WITH COLOPHON.

To face p. 123.

Or ȝit thare fame or ȝit thaire ese engrewe,
mote suffryn̄ here and fallyn̄ grete mischewe
In to this erth, syne with þe falouschip of hell
In body and soule eternaly mot duell.

Explicit Quod auch—.

APPENDIX

A.—Date of the Capture of King James I.

Mr. Brown has conclusively proved that James was seized by the English in the spring of 1406. This might have been evident, in spite of the errors of Wyntoun and others, if their readers had noted that there was no dispute about the date of the King's return to Scotland in 1424, and that the almost unvarying testimony was that he had been a prisoner for eighteen years. Confirmation of the year of capture is given by an interesting document in Rymer headed *Pro Mercatoribus Scotiae.* It is of date September 3, 1406, seventh year of the reign of Henry IV. It has another interesting aspect. It gives a glimpse of the attitude of Albany and of the English King. King James is never alluded to, but that it is his capture that led to the loss of Scottish gear can scarcely be doubted, as his captors were of Clay; and the probability is that John Jolyf with his many attorneys was the leader of the enterprise.

"The King to his beloved John Remys, Esquire, William Brygge, James Billyngford, and Thomas Stodehawe, Attorneys of John Jolyf of Clay and his fellows, as is said, and to each one of them greeting:

"On the part of the Rothesay King-at-Arms of Scotland, Commissioner-General for the King and Kingdom of Scotland with respect to all attacks made, as is said, upon the sea after the beginning of a truce agreed upon between Us and those of Scotland, a petition has been made to Us that—

"Whereas divers contracts between you and the aforesaid Rothesay are in existence with respect to the delivery of certain

goods and merchandise of divers merchants, lately taken upon the sea by the aforesaid John Jolyf and his fellows,

"According as by certain Indentures thereafter made between you and the aforesaid Rothesay, as is said, it shall possibly more fully appear:

"Which agreements indeed, according to the form of the aforesaid Indentures, you have delayed, and still delay to implement, to the no little loss of these merchants,

"That We may be willing graciously to provide for a remedy in this respect

"We, unwilling that in this matter justice should be delayed with regard to these merchants, command you that, if it is so, you on your part then cause to be firmly observed and kept all and each of the agreements contained in the aforesaid Indentures in so far as ye are bound according to the tenor of the Indentures aforesaid.

"Holding yourselves in such wise and so justly in the Premises that the same Rothesay, on the part of the said merchants, should have no cause on this account to have further recourse to Us.

"The King witnessing at the town of Leicester on the third day of September

"By the King Himself."

B.—The Murder of King James I.

The simplest record is that given by Bower in the *Scotichronicon*, and for this part of his work the historian is a contemporary writer. He is brief, giving few details. The most elaborate account is contained in *The Dethe of the Kynge of Scotis*. It is a translation from a Latin original by an English subject, John Shirley, and from it have been derived all the picturesque details usually given in histories of the King's journey to Perth, his meeting with a Highland woman who warned him again and again of his danger, of the last night of his life and of his great strength and courage in the struggle with his murderers. Shirley's narrative gives also minute details of the torture and death of the leading conspirators. It is a moving story, and, without doubt, some of the particulars must be authentic. But on many points it

is evidently mythological, especially in the dialogue between the King and his murderers in the cellar where he had sought refuge. James is represented as pleading for his life, and offering half his kingdom to Sir Robert Graham if he will spare him. Next to its art, the most striking feature of this account is the writer's admiration of Graham. In his plotting, in his actual conflict, in his willingness at the last to shew mercy, and in his spirited defence at his trial he is painted as more heroic than criminal. The story is rounded off with a moral: "And thus endyn thes sorofull and pitous cronycles; and alle men saye that the unsacionable covtise was the ground cause of the Kynges dethe. Tharefore prynces shuld take hede and drawe it to thare memorie of Maistre Johanes de Moigne counsell, thus said yn Frenche langage,

Il nest pas sires de sone pays,
Quy de son peple (n) est amez,"
(Maitland Club volume.)

Among other facts mentioned is this: the papal legate was confessor of the criminals.

The account in the *Chronicon* is short. The statement about the bravery of Katharine Gordon is found in Boece.

C.—The Scribes of the Two Quairs.

Much light would be thrown on the authorship of the *Kingis Quair*, if the actual date of transcription and, still more, if the identity of the transcribers could be determined. Dr. George Neilson, Glasgow, a highly accomplished scholar in Middle Scots and in Scottish history, discussed the personality of the chief scribe in an *Athenæum* special article—December 16, 1899—and he came to the conclusion that the scribe was James Graye, secretary successively to Archbishop Schevez and the Duke of Ross, and illuminator of the MS. of the *Scotichronicon* copied in 1480 by John Ramsay. Dr. Neilson gave it also as his opinion that Graye was the scribe of all the earlier portion of the MS. except the entry on folio 191 verso about the authorship and title of the *Quair*. His chief grounds for believing that Graye was the scribe are the similarity of the handwriting to that of the Gray MS.,

and the fact that the entry about the birth of James IV., on folio 120, is repeated in an abbreviated form on folio 20 verso of the Gray MS. in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh. (Graye is probably the Jacobus Gray whose name is on the St. Andrews University Register as a determinant in 1470, and a licentiate in Arts in 1472.)

On such a matter, without special qualification, it is not wise to be dogmatic. Personally, I am disposed to agree with Dr. Neilson that the Gray MS. and Arch. Selden B. 24, from folio 2 to 191 verso except the entry on the last page, are in the same hand-writing, such differences as exist being due to the very minute character of the script of the Gray MS. Mr. W. K. Dickson, Advocates' Librarian, who kindly gave me the benefit of his special knowledge, is of a different opinion. He thinks it probable that the first scribe of the *Quair* was also the scribe of the earlier portion of the MS. volume. On the other hand Dr. Maitland Thomson, the former head, and the Rev. John Anderson, the present head of the Scottish Record Office, are emphatically against Dr. Neilson's opinion on this point. These experts are doubtful about the second scribe of the *Kingis Quair* being also the scribe of the *Quare of Jelusy*, but they are for rather than against. Mr. Dickson and Mr. Maitland Anderson are unfavourable, and in this opinion I concur. Dr. W. A. Craigie (see *Athenæum*, December 30, 1899) gives it as his opinion that the scribe of folio 1 and the scribe of the greater part of the *Quair* are the same, folios 2-191 being by a different hand. On two points only is there absolute agreement. There were two scribes of the *Quair*, and the scribe of the entry on folio 191 verso was a different person from any of the other scribes of the volume and wrote later, being possibly one of the owners of the book. There is one additional fact. On folio 120, almost an inch below the note about the birth of James IV., are the initials J.R.

THE references to individual poems are for the most part given by initial letters: T. G., *Temple of Glas*; Q. J., *Quare of Jelusy*; R. R., *Romaunt of the Rose*. The minor poems of Lydgate and other fifteenth-century Chaucerians are mentioned by name and are quoted as in Professor Skeat's supplementary Chaucer volume, *Reson and Sensuallyte*, and *Lancelot of the Laik* as in E. E. T. S. editions.

NOTES TO THE KINGIS QUAIR

I. 2. Concord and poet's evident reference to past seem to demand pret. "twynklyt." Similar use of pres. part. in Q. J. l. 9. 3. "Citherea" may have been written by poet though Cinthia is meant: vid. Chaucer's P. F. 113. 4. "Lyte" is the common qualification of "tofore"; vid. II. 2. 7. "And" is necessary for sense and rhythm. "North-north-west" is from Chaucer P. F. 117:

> As wisly as I say the north-north-west.

Opening as a whole is modelled on *Temple of Glas*, and the meaning is that the poet had this experience in the month of January when the moon was full, which shortly before in the month of December had, as a new moon, shewn herself in crescent form. Wischmann interprets both "twynklyng" and "rynsid" as participles, and he supposes that some verb such as "stood" is to be supplied in thought: "The rody sterres (stood) twynklyng." "Rynsid her tressis" he holds to be an absolute construction. Dr. Skeat's acceptance of "twynklyng" as a provincial or dialectal form of "twynklen" has much to commend it. In Q. J. 369 "y-suffering" occurs for "y-suffren," and this form is common in L. L. Whole opening may also be compared with beginning of Henryson's *Testament of Cresseid*. In *The Pistill of Susan*, 192, 193, we have:

> Hir here was 3olow as wyre
> Of gold fynyd with fyre.

II. 6, 7. "Wherefore as I could then choose no better": 7. Reader looks for "I" rather than "Bot" at beginning of line.

III. 2. Cf. L. L. 319, 320. 3. Missing monosyllable before "Counsele," probably an adj. "guid" or "hye." 6. "Estat" or "estaat" is invariably a dissyllable, and without any adj. it is often used in sense of "high estate," cf. xciv. 1, l. 4. Lost monosyllable therefore probably adv., or prep.; cf. Q. J. 57 for "so"; W.'s "for" is at least equally apt. Stanza lxx. shews that poet's acquaintance with Boethius' *De Cons. Phil.* was not exact. A succinct account of Boethius and his philosophy is given by Fraser Stewart—Boethius: an Essay (Blackwood, 1891). Seneca, in *Monk's Tale* C. T. B. 3687, is styled "For of Moralitee he was the flour."

IV. 6. "Poetly" is unknown and unrhythmical. I have ventured to substitute "poleyt" which is common: cf. Henryson's *Prologue to Fables*, l. 3; also *Wolf and Lamb*, l. 101: "Quhilk under poleit termes falset myngis." "Be" meaning "by" would be a more apt prep. than "in." Neither Dr. Skeat's interpretation nor Wischmann's is entirely satisfactory, but it is not easy to suggest a better. As the text stands it is highly elliptical. IV. 1, 2, connects in thought st. III. and st. IV. 6-7, but the connection is not strictly grammatical. Skeat paraphrases: "And in

reading the book I there seemed to hear," etc. W. finds a parallel in lxi. 3, 4. He points with an exclamation after "moralitee"! and renders: "And what joy it gives to hear there (i.e. in his banishment) this worthy lord and clerk." But "there" surely refers to book, II. 7, and the rendering connecting "there" closely with II. 7 is: "But I took a book to read for a little— —and in it to hear (the sentiments of) this worthy lord and clerk." 3. "Set a-werk" cf. C. T. A. 4337:

> I pray to God, so yeve me sorwe and care,
> If ever sitthe I highte Hogge of Ware
> Herde I a millere bettre y-set a werk.

4. "Discryving of" is unusual. Bellenden, Livy, I. 9. 4, has "in descriving the begynnyng of romanis." 7. "Can," etc. may be rendered either "began to comfort himself" or "did comfort himself." Both usages are common in Middle Scots. See for sense of "did" *Prol. Lives of Saints*, 46, "And hou sche can hir-selwyn led"; also *The Bruce*, I. 330, III. 27. For sense of "began" see *Gologras and Gawayne*, 14, 34, 128; *Pistill of Susan* form "gan," 288. See st. x. 6.

V. 1. "Thoght" or "thocht" for "though" is a common Middle Scots form, vid. *Lives of Saints*, xxx. 141; xxxii. 21, and in form "thowcht," ibid. Prol. 166. Same usage in *The Bruce*, I. 518; II. 390. 3. "My advantage was rather to look upon," i.e. to study carefully the writing of this noble man. W. renders "more" by "longer" and expands "my best" into "the best which in my opinion I could do." "Beste" in sense of advantage, cf. *King Horn*, l. 776.

VI. 5. "Warldis appetitis," cf. Chaucer, T. and C. v. 1851. 6. "Aworth" may be compared with such compounds as "a-felde," "a-fote," "a-fure," "a-gref." It means "patiently." N. E. D. gives from Trevisa, "3it he took it aworth." 7. "Suffisance," cf. st. xvi. 2 and xxvi. 5, also Chaucer, T. and C. III. 1309.

VII. 4. "Scole" is probably a scribal error for "scele," i.e. "skele." Same error is found in a MS. of *Piers Plowman*, vid. Skeat's edition, vol. i. p. 327. Neither "scull," which is Skeat's rendering, nor "school," which is Wischmann's, gives necessary point to the meaning. 5. One is tempted to read "song" for "tong," and "my" in 5 with "my" in 6, and "my matere" in 7 will probably justify reading "the sentence." Line 2 may be compared with *Lancelot of the Laik*, Prol. l. 327:

> The fresch enditing of his laiting toung.

VIII. Skeat's "longē" and "eyen" at once commend themselves; "newē" (5) both on grammatical and rhythmical grounds is less happy. "Into" for "in" in this connection is exceedingly common. W.'s "seyēn" for "seynē," and "sche" for conjectural "oft" will, perhaps, commend themselves. For "translate" in sense of "transform" cf. *The Three Deid Powis*, l. 40, Turnit in as, and thus in erd translait.

IX. "Into" (2) for "in" improves the rhythm, while pointing with a comma after "lest" and a semicolon after "doun," as suggested by Wischmann, greatly adds to clearness, as does the addition of "nocht" after "prynce" from Sir David Lyndsay's manifest quotation, vid. Introd. p. lxxvi. References to Fortune and her wheel in medieval literature are exceedingly numerous. Boethius, *De C. P.*, Bk. II., Prosa 2, may be taken as the source of much: "I torne the whirlynge wheel with the turnynge sercle, I am to chaungen the loweste to the heyeste and the hyeste to the loweste" (Chaucer's Translation). The thought in l. 5 comes from the

Romaunt of the Rose, Fragment B. 6333 : "Now am I prince now am I page." It is reminiscent also of *Knight's Tale*, 2172-4, i.e. C. T. A. 3029-3032.

X. 3, 4. See *Monk's Tale*, C. T. A. 3914.

XI. 2. Pointing as in amended text with comma after "lestnyt," and taking "sodaynlye" and "sone" as modifying "herd" make narrative more vivid.

XII. 1. For use of interrogation cf. Q. J. 121 sqq. and L. L. 159-162.

XIII. 5. "For to write" is preferable to "newë" in this connection. For use of "determe," cf. Douglas, Prol. to Aen. I. 217 : "So doith clerkis determe"; and with "maid a †," cf. same poet, Prol. to Aen. vii., Works, III. 77, l. 11 : "I crocit me, syne bownit for to sleip." "Begouth" is a double perfect formed by analogy from "can," "couth." It is a common Scots form and has variant "begoud."

XIV. Any apt dissyllabic adj. would do as well as "sely," which Skeat adopts from stanza xliv., or as "tendir" given in text from Q. J. 191. With "hable" cf. "abhominable," Q. J. 255.

XV. 4. To supply lacking syllable one must read "rokkis" or "most so to harmes hye." Comparing with st. cxxx., "Take Him in hand," one is tempted to read "Him" for "It" in lines 2 and 5; but as "sterëles" is "without helm" rather than "without helmsman," "It" is better. In l. 6 "into" is demanded by the rhythm, unless we accept "standis." For thought, cf. Chaucer, T. and C. I. 415 sqq. :

> Thus possed to and fro
> Al sterëles within a boot am I
> A-midde the see betwixen windes two
> That in contrarie stonden evere mo.

XVI. 3. Wischmann's "rypënesse" and pret. "lakkit" for unrhythmical and incongruous "lak" give both rhythm and sequence of tenses. For idea of self-government, cf. T. and C. II. 374-5; and of "driving among waves," etc., cf. Q. J. 549-53; cf. also Lydgate, T. G. 605-13.

XVII. 5. For omission of pronominal nominative before "suld blowe" cf. x. 2. "Fell me to mynd," also lxxxv. 5; and, for omission of relative pronoun as object, xxiii. 4. This last, however, may be construed otherwise. 7. With double invocation contrast Douglas, Prol. to Aen. I. 459, 460; and with weak genitive "Marye," cf. st. xxv. 3, and Chaucer's use of it in "sonne," "cherche," "lady."

XVIII. 4. The superfluous syllable which mars rhythm is to be excised by reading "In diting of" or "In enditing this." In 6, "bynd" would be more apt than "wynd." 1, 2. "I call the rocks the great expanse of doubtfulness which appals my mind." W. properly calls attention to the mixture of constructions in 5, 6, where "clepe" goes appropriately with "bote," but not with "vnto the saile," some such verb as "compare" being demanded by the sense. "Also" corrects confusion.

XIX. The mixture of Muses and Furies is in harmony with the error in st. lxx. For Cleo vid. T. and C. II. 8, and for Thesiphone vid. Introd. p. lxxi. : cf. Chaucer T. and C. I. 6, 7, and Lydgate T. G. 958-960, and Q. J. 313. Chaucer names all the Furies together in T. and C. IV. 22-24. "Goddis" is probably meant as shortened form of "goddesses."

XX. 5. Skeat's suggestion to mend rhythm by prefixing "be" to "gynneth" commends itself at once. 6. W. would put full stop after "suete," and

connect line 7 with xxi. 1-3, but as "Heigh in the est" must be construed with line 7, not with 5, pointing with a comma after "suete" and a colon or full stop after "ariete" is better. The thought may be compared with opening of Q. J., with Chaucer L. G. W. 125 sqq., and with beginning of Prol. to *Lancelot of the Laik*. 6. "On a morning soft and sweet."

XXI. Scribal slip in l. 1. "Fourē" is found occasionally in Gower (see Introd. p. lxxxi), but "four" with sound of "fower" dissyllabic, seems more consonant with Scottish dialect as well as more closely related to O.E. fēower. The correction in l. 4 suggests copying from original with such a correction; neither eye nor ear could mistake "freschenesse" for "confort." Skeat renders l. 1 "having passed mid-day exactly four degrees, i.e. an hour"; W. "having passed its mid-day position at the opening of Spring exactly four degrees"; and he goes through an elaborate astronomical calculation to prove that the 24th of March may be accepted as the day of the prince's departure. But this seems strained. The poet everywhere else is given to generality of statement, and (his "four degrees exactly," notwithstanding) may be so interpreted here. "It was afternoon of a bright Spring day when the flowers under the sun's influence had opened their petals and were glad and grateful to Phoebus for his heat and light." "Four degrees" is, as Skeat points out in his note on passage, a reminiscence of Chaucer, *Squire's Tale*, ll. 384-6 If we accept the two stanzas as together giving an exact date, then "midday" might be taken as "equator," and the date would be the 15th of March, as the sun entered Aries on the 11th, and a degree corresponds very nearly to a day. 1. Something may be said for reading "mydway." In Chaucer's *Treatise on the Astrolabe* (I. 17, Brae's edition) there is the following: "The cercle equinoctial is cleped also the Equator. . . . This cercle equinoctial is cleped the *mydway* of the first meving, or elles of the sonne." Four degrees after midday is sixteen minutes, not an hour. For sun "spreading" his beams cf. L. L. 677.

XXII. 1, 2. Another instance of indefinite statement. With l. 1, cf. L. L. 1430-32, concluding "Done frome he passith the ȝeris of Innocens." 4. Cf. L. L. 393. 6. "By thaire avise." Bishop Wardlaw and King Robert III. are usually and probably correctly credited with the proposal to send James to France. Mr. R. S. Rait definitely makes Albany responsible, vid. *Outline of Relations between England and Scotland*, p. 83.

XXIII. "Puruait," vid. Wyntoun O. C. ix. c. 25. The common Middle Scots form is "necessaire." 5. "Saint John as a pledge" for a favourable voyage, a very common expression both in Middle English and Middle Scots poetry, vid. Lydgate, *Camplaint of Black Knight*, l. 12; Chaucer, *Squire's Tale*, 596; Lindsay, I. p. 38, ll. 995-6:

> 'Tharefor adew: I may no langer tarye:
> Fareweill,' quod I, 'and with Sanct Jhone to borrow.'

Cf. *Compleynte of Mars*, 9. 7. "Pullit up saile." Bellenden has the same expression, vid. Introd. p. xiv, "pullit up sailis at the Bass."

XXIV. 4. Lost syllable after "hand" more likely to be "and" than Skeat's "as." W.'s suggestion "for to say" gives an unmusical line; his other conjectures "schortēly" and "strangē" are better. Silence about the English as enemies is appropriate to the character of King James I. It is also appropriate to the period in reign of James III., 1471-78, when he was very friendly with England.

XXV. 3. See xvii. 7 for similar construction. The meaning is "in the abandonment of sorrow." "Abandoune" is found in *The Bruce*, xv. 59, xix. 335, with "at" and "in" forming adv. phrase. 4. "Twyne," abstractly, may mean either "to separate" or "to twist." It has the latter meaning here, as in the old song, "Twine weel the plaidie." Originally there was but one Fate who span the thread of life. Hecuba speaks of her in her lament for Hector: "Even thus for him did mighty Fate erst spin with her thread at his beginning when I bare him" (Il. xxiv. 209-210). Later, in Hesiod, the Fates were three, and Clotho, the first of the sisters, span the thread; in the Roman poets of the Augustan age, Clotho, Lachesis, and Atropos all span. See art. "Moirae," Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Myth.* 5. "Twise," scribal error for "twiés"; "twie" is also found, as in *Genesis and Exodus*, l. 808. "Nearly eighteen years": this is the general testimony as to duration of James's imprisonment. See Appendix A. 6. For "aduert" cf. Lydgate, *Beware of Doubilnesse*, l. 45, and l. 7, "in relesche of my smert." *Complaint of Black Knight*, l. 20: "Until it please Jupiter to make known his compassion and send comfort as a relief to my pain." 6, 7. Cf. Q. J. 82-84.

XXVI. 3. "Quhat haue I gilt," L. L. l. 699.

XXVII. 3. "Lakkith libertee," cf. with Q. J. "lakkith discretioun." As a Scots construction it is a false form: "lakkis" would be correct as verb is separated from pronoun; yet "lak" is also found in passive sense. 4. "Seyen" rather than "seyne": cf. st. viii. 6. 6. "Argow" is the usual form: see Henryson, *Prol. to Fab.* l. 45.

XXVIII. 5-7. Dr. Skeat's explanation of the poet's meaning—that he is a cipher—is given fully in note on this stanza, pp. 66, 67 of his edition. The crossing out and correction in l. 7 give another indication that the scribe copied from a MS. which itself had corrections. St. xlix. concludes with "I drede."

XXX. 1. See, for language, Chaucer, T. and C. I. l. 547. From this stanza onward to lxxi. there is manifest imitation of Chaucer, *Knight's Tale*. See C. T. A. 1030-1354. 4. The opening words of MS. "And to" for "Vnto" illustrate well the kind of blunder made in transcribing. 5. Cf. C. T. C. 125: As she cam forby.

XXXI. The description of the "herbere" may be compared with *The Flower and the Leaf*, ll. 64-72, especially with 66-72:

> That who that list without to stond or go,
> Though he wold al-day pryen to and fro,
> He shuld not see if there were ony wight
> Within or no; but oon within wel might
> Perceive al tho that yeden there-without
> In the feld.

A similar but less artistic description is to be found in Prol. to L. L., ll. 45-56. Skeat's pointing and W.'s are equally defensible. "Herbere" means either "arbour," as in Chaucer, L. G. W. l. 203, or "herbarium," i.e., "herb-garden." Both here and in xxxii. 3 "herb-garden" is the natural rendering. 5. "Knet," which is a Kentish form, is doubtless due to exigencies of rhyme, and to the literary character of the greater part of poem. 6. S.'s "y-walking" is decidedly better than W.'s "walkinge," although latter is found in Chaucer.

XXXIII. 1. "Smalé," which is found without vocal *é* in st. xlviii. 2, seems

fitting emendation of "small." Concord requires "nyghtingales," but such violations are common. 5-7. "That all the garden and the walls rang clearly with their song, and their sweet harmony, and, lo! the text (of their song) is in the following stanza." "Copill," in this sense, is found in *Chron. Jac. Pr.* (Maitland Club), p. 19: "Thaire is more of this lamentacioune xviii. coupill." If the text is to be altered, "in" should be substituted for "on" rather than "of," as suggested by S. and approved by W. "Gardyng," cf. Q. J. l. 369, also L. L. *passim.*

XXXIV. 1. S. suggests "worschippeth." "Worschippē" as plu. imp. is neither N. nor S. dialect, vid. Introd. p. lxxxv, cf. st. cii. 5 for "schapith" as imp. and also for "forgeue" as sing. imp. joined with Southern plur. form. "Bene," "ar," "are," and "is" all used as plur. pres.; "bene" also occasionally with sing. nom. 2. For "kalendis" in sense of "beginning," cf. Scogan, *A Morale Balade*, l. 146, "Sone after comen kalends of dotage"; also L. L. l. 12. 3-7. cf. Chaucer, P. F. 680-92. 7. "List," here, is "pleased," in various passages used impersonally and personally; as 2nd sing. pres. in lviii. 5.

XXXV. 2. "stent," cf. v. 3, pret. of "stenten" or "stent," of which the common form is "stynt" or "stint": see liii. 2 and civ. 2. 7. "Thai" rather than "that."

XXXVI. See Introd. for frequent use of interrogation, and for repetition of same word in rhyme, also cf. Q. J. 121 sqq. and 527 sqq. and Prol. to L. L. 160-164. 6. Cf. for "feynit chere," *The Compleynt of Faire Anelyda upon Fals Arcyte*, 97.

XXXVII. W.'s pointing in this stanza makes the meaning clearer, as is shown by text. A possible improvement would be a mark of interrogation after "him" in l. 4, and to connect "As we in bukis fynd" with l. 5. Recalling form "knet" in xxxi. 5, one is disposed to read "knetten" for "setten," cf. R. R. 1; l. 7 should certainly be read as a question.

XXXVIII. 3. See note on xxvi. 3.

XXXIX. Though the poet might not write "ringe," "beninge," and "dinge" (ll. 2, 4, 5) in the usual Scots fashion, he thought of the sounds which they represent as his rhymes.

XL. 4. "Or" is without point; "and" is more natural. 4, 5. Cf., for construction and manner of overflow, L. L. 603-5:

> Galiot, which is the farest knycht
> And hiest be half a fut one hycht
> That euer I saw.

XLII. 3. "That verray womanly," "so very womanly." For such use of "that" see passage from Scott, quoted in note on stanza lix. 3. Cf. Q. J. 307. 6, 7. *Knight's Tale*, C. T. A. 1101-11 and 1156-61.

XLIII. 1. Cupid's own princess is the poet's paraphrase of Chaucer's Venus. He can hardly be credited with a knowledge of Apuleius and the beautiful story of Psyche. 3. Cf. Chaucer P. F. l. 368, and 302-8.

XLIV. 4. "Why does it please God to make you so?" It is difficult to account for the Kenticism "lest" except as an imitation of Chaucer; cf. Q. J. 536. 7. Cf. *Black Knight*, l. 516.

XLV. This stanza as it stands in the text is grammatically incomplete. To rectify the anacolouthon it is necessary either to supply in thought both pronoun and verb and to take "vnknawin" as equivalent to "I was vnknawing," i.e. "I did not know," or to accept W.'s suggestion and read l. 4, "So ferre I fallyn (was)," "fallyng" being provincial for "fallyn," like "gardyng" for "gardyn" in st. xxiii. 5. It is not

necessary to read "in" for "into," as "lufis" may be read as a monosyllable. The expression "lovis daunce" is found in T. and C. II. 1106, and in the English poems ascribed to Charles d'Orléans (see Bullrich, *Eng. Poems of Ch. d'O.*, p. 13). Yet "i-fallyng," as participle, suggests "twynklyng" in i. 2 and "beseching" in clxxxiv. 1.

XLVI. The confusion in this stanza will disappear if l. 3 is read "It fretwise couchit was." "If I shall write a description of her dress, with respect to her golden hair and rich attire, it was by way of ornament set with white pearls." "Toward" in this sense to be compared with "touert" in clxxiv. 1. "Was" is to be understood before "chaplet" and st. xlvii. runs on as conclusion of 6, 7. "Partit" in 7 has same sense as "partie" in *Court of Love*, l. 1434. 3. Cf. C. T. A. 2161.

XLVII. This and the next stanza as a whole may be compared with *The Flower and the Leaf*, ll. 141-161, and *Assembly of Ladies*, ll. 519-39. 1. W. suggests "quakingē," but a connective is needed. "And" before "full" helps sense and rhythm. 3, 4. The repetition of "floure-Ionettis" can scarcely be accepted as the poet's work, although such rhymes are very common in his poem. The range of conjectural rhyme-words is limited. S. suggests all likely words: "violettis" adopted in the text is one of them. "Ionette" is a kind of lily; the jaulnet d'eau is the yellow water-lily. (N. E. D.)

XLVIII. 1. Cf. *Assembly of Ladies*, l. 534, of "ryght fyne enamyl." 3, 4. Cf. T. and C. iii., 1371:

> But wel I wote a broche of gold azure,
> In which a ruby set was lik an herte.

3. "Faille" is used in O.F. sense of "fault or defect." 4. "Hertē" or "y-schapin" corrects rhythm. 5. Henryson, O. and E., l. 87, speaks of the lowe (i.e. flame) of luf. 7. "God it wote": frequent use of this expression is a mannerism common to K. Q., L. L., and Q. J.

XLIX. 4, 5. A comma after "lyte" and a colon after "haste" make connection clearer. "Lo" instead of "to" before "suich" is more in the poet's manner, cf. xxxiii. 7, lviii. 6, lxxxvi. 3, lxxxviii. 7, cxxxi. 1, cxlviii. 3.

L. W.'s punctuation in this stanza, adopted in text, has everything to recommend it, but he links 6 with 5, not with 7, a connection which is surely preferable. The meaning is "Moderation so guided her in every point that Nature to no higher degree could advance her child in word, in deed, in figure, in face." "Measure" in sense of "moderation" or "temperance" is common. Cf. *Piers Plowman*, C. Text, Passus II. l. 33: "Mesure is medecyne."

LI. 7. Cf. for reference to succeeding stanza xxxiii. 6, 7.

LII. 1, 2. "O bright Venus, to whom among the gods who are stars I pay homage and sacrifice." 4. "Into suich," or "in suich a," necessary for metre.

LIII. 2. "Stynt": cf. civ. 2, and contrast xxxv. 2 and v. 3. 4. "Behalding to" is rhythmical and is a common expression. Thus in *Legends of the Saints*, xviii. 751, 2:

> To þat ymage of oure lady
> Increly be-haldand ay.

W. justifies the MS. reading on the ground that there is an extra light syllable after the caesura as elsewhere in the poem—lvi. 7, lxxxvi. 6, etc.

But some, indeed most, of the passages he cites ought to be read in a way that gives no extra syllable, e.g. lxxx. 1, cvii. 4, cxix. 2.

LV. 2. The story of Procne and Philomela is told by Gower, *Conf. Amant.* V. 5551-6074, and by Chaucer, L. G. W. 2228-2393. Both derive the main points of the story from Ovid, Met. vi. 412-676. Ovid's story is that Tereus, a King of Thrace, married Procne, the daughter of Pandion, King of Attica. He afterwards ravished Philomela, his wife's sister, and cut out her tongue, that she might not reveal his brutal turpitude. She was kept a close prisoner, and Procne was told that she was dead. But Philomela revealed Tereus' crime by weaving words into a robe and sending this to her sister. Procne was so madly enraged with her husband that she killed their son Itys, and served his flesh at a banquet. When Tereus discovered this he pursued the sisters to slay them both, but the gods changed them into birds, Procne into a swallow, Philomela into a nightingale, and Tereus into a hoopoe. The initial point of the story, on which Ovid moralises effectively, was the circumstance which gave Tereus opportunity of seeing Philomela. The sisters longed for each other, therefore a journey was made to Attica, and Philomela was sent on a visit to Thrace. The story is alluded to by Lydgate, T. G. ll. 97, 98. 7. "Quhare" has force of "by which." One looks for "quhan" rather than "quhare."

LVI. 5. "Quhois," dissyllabic, as in L. of S. iv. 210, "fore quhois cause I am led now." In spite of the sing. pron., "thyne," "thy," one is tempted to read "chideth" in 6, especially with "thir" following. Cf. Dunbar, II. 274, "Gladethe, thou Queen of Scottis regioun." For "twenty deuil way" see Introd. p. lxiii. It means "in way of twenty devils," i.e., "anyhow."

LVII. 4. "Lest" for "lust" is another Kenticism: cf. C. T. A. 132 in description of the Prioress: "In curteisie was set ful muchel her leste." Also *Dethe of Blaunche the Duchesse*, l. 907. 6. "Pepe," see Henryson, *Fabillis*, where the word is used more than once of cry of a mouse, l. 26 of *U. M. and B. M.*, and l. 147; also in *Paddok and Mous*, l. 7. Stanzas lvii.-lix. may be compared with L. L. ll. 81-136.

LVIII. 1-4. Cf. Q. J. ll. 121-31. 3. Cf. Q. J. 130. 5. "Thou more list," cf. Gower, *Conf. Amant.* III. 1:

If thou the vices lest to know.

LIX. 3. "What wouldst thou then?" "Wostow" is ordinary contraction for "knowest thou," but here, as W. points out, it is for "woldest thou." 6. "Gree," in M.E. and in M.S., is the French "gré," which represents both Latin *gradum* and *gratiam*. In first sense it means (*a*) "step" or "degree," (*b*) "victory" or "pre-eminence." Familiar instances of this usage in Modern Scots are Burns'

That sense and worth, o'er a' the earth,
May bear the gree and a' that;

and Scott, in *Heart of Midlothian*, II. 70, where Madge Wildfire praises the hammermen of Edinburgh for their skill in making stancheons, ring-bolts, etc.: "And they arena that bad at girdles for carcakes neither, though the Cu'ross hammermen have the gree for that." In the second sense it means "favour," "grace," as in *Clerk's Tale*, l. 1151:

Receyven al in gree that God us sent;

and in Ros, *La Belle Dame sans Mercy*, l. 842, "To take in gree this rude

translatioun." The preferable rendering is therefore "And here to gain favour"; i.e. of the lady who is mentioned as approaching in lvii. 2. Cf. also *Plowman's Tale*, l. 333-4:

> Suche harlottes shull men disclaunder
> For they shullen mak hir gree.

7. "Now," not "here," makes natural contrast to "neuer."

LX. 7. As in MS. singularly unmusical. Omission of "that" and reading "awake" would amend rhythm.

LXI. 2. "Quhare," "on which," "whereupon." 3. W. compares with iv. 1. 7. Few readers will approve of W.'s rendering, "bounding all to festal joy," thus taking "boundin" as dialectal for "bounding." The meaning is "So completely enslaved were my wits."

LXII. 1. "To the notis"—Poet made words in spirit of bird's song. 2. For "ditee" in this sense cf. Chaucer's Translation of Boethius, 315, 602, 1453. "Quhilkis," instance of plur. rel. pron. 3. "Direct," "directed." 5, 7. Defective rhythm may be variously amended: "Deuotēly" is suggested by analogy from "schortēly." "Deuoitly," four syllables, might have preference, but wherever found it is trisyllabic.

LXIII. W. suggests closing "the ditee" at l. 3, but this would be prosaic and unlike lii., where invocation of Venus occupies whole stanza. 7. K. Q. and Q. J. show a certain partiality for use of word "hell."

LXIV. 3. "A voce" and 6, "a soyte" mean "one voice" and "one suit," like modern Scots "ae," "Ae fond kiss." At a later time the poet would almost certainly have written "ane voce" and "ane soyte," as in clx. 1, where he has written "ane surcote." 3. "Begone," as it rhymes with "euerichone," is not the p.p. of "begin," which is "begonne," but of "bego," O.E. began, cf. *The Flower and the Leaf*, l. 186: "Me thought I was wel bigon," i.e. "circumstanced."

LXV. 1. Dr. Skeat, taking the rhymes as "bridis" and "bydis," translates "brides" and "bides." But this introduces an alien and a very unusual thought. Reading "briddis" and "byddis," the meaning is "Now be welcome fresh May, flower of all months, always kind to birds. For not only does your grace ask us to give this welcome, but we call all the world to bear witness to this (grace) which has strewed fresh, sweet, and tender green so liberally everywhere." 5. "Playnly" may mean "manifestly" or "fully," cf. *Legends of the Saints*, Prol. l. 135: "Playne powar our the laffe."

LXVI. 2. "Full" is redundant.

LXVII. 6. "To see her depart and follow I could not"—a mixed construction.

LXVIII. 3, 4. "For thay," i.e. "axis and turment" expressed in lxvii. 5 and implied in "peyne," "may not more rigorously affect any man." 5. "Both tueyne," cf. lxxv. 5 and xcviii. 4.

LXIX. 7. "Schape remede": cf. cii. 5, and L. L. 89.

LXX. Tantalus is alluded to by Chaucer, *Book of Duchess*, l. 708, and T. and C. III. l. 593, also in Boethius, Book III., metrum 12, 1130: "And Tantalus that was destroied by the woodnesse of long thurst, despyseth the floodes to drynken." Apparently Tantalus was suggested by "my dryē thrist" in lxix. 4. The punishment, "water to draw with buket botemless," is not that assigned to Tantalus, but to the daughters of Danaus, who murdered their husbands on their wedding night, all but

Hypermnestra, who saved her husband Lynceus. The best-known classical reference is Horace's *Ode to Mercury*, III. xi. 25 sqq. :

> Audiat Lyde scelus atque notas
> Virginum poenas, et inane lymphae
> Dolium fundo pereuntis imo
> Seraque fata,
> Quae manent culpas etiam sub Orco.

Chaucer in L. G. W. closes with an unfinished legend of Hypermnestra.

5. "By" is plainly "be," "concerning."

LXXI. 1. "Sighit," monosyllable. 2. "Strenth," common Middle and Modern Scots usage. 3. "Fone," Chaucer's "foon," see Glossary.

LXXII. 1. S's "longe" is perhaps simpler than insertion of "to" after "gan." Cf. C. T. E. 2112 : For al that ever he koude poure or prye. 2. "Endit" is so unusual in this connection that "I-hid" from *Temple of Glas*, l. 793, is given as conjectural reading. The natural verb would be "sylit," as in Henryson, *Testament of Cresseid*, ll, 9, 10 :

> Quhen Titan had his bemys bricht
> Withdrawin doun, and sylit under cure.

5. T. G. 1348 : "Willi planet O Hesperus so bryght."

LXXIII. S. finishes the sentence with lxxii. 7, but W.'s pointing is preferable, as is shewn in amended text. This is one of few instances in K. Q. of overflow from one stanza to another. 3. "Ourset," cf. Gower, *Conf. Amant.* v. 2707-8 :

> Thus he whom gold hath overset
> Was trapped in his oghne net.

6. "Suoun," cf. Chaucer, *Clerk's Tale*, l. 1079, "aswowne."

LXXIV. 3. Repetition of "wyndow" from line above suggests conjecture "chamberewallis." 5. W. conjectures "It blent," "it blinded." "Iblent" is a p.p. certainly in Lydgate, *Reson and Sensuallyte*, l. 3659. He speaks thus of the singing of sirens :

> The noise is so ravysshynge
> That shippes seyling by the see
> With her song so fonned bee
> So supprysed and y-blent
> That they be verray necligent
> Of gouernaylle in ther passage.

But "Iblent" may quite well be taken as an intensive form of "blent," pret. of "blenchen," which is usually "bleinte" or "bleynte," the modern "blenched" or "flinched," and the rendering would thus be : "So that my force of vision wholly failed." Such an intensive form is found in Q. J., l. 525, not with p.p. alone, but with inf. : "A lady rather schuld hir deth y-take." 6. For "there-with-all" cf. lxxix. 5 and lxxxiii. 1.

LXXV. This and the following stanza are so closely linked that it is necessary in 7 to point with a comma after "fair," and shew the overflow.

LXXVI. 4. "Signifere," "the zodiac," Gower, *Conf. Amant*, vii. 955-1236, gives several signs.

LXXVII. 1. Comparing with cxxiv. 7, "palace" may be read for "place," and "a-nye" would still further improve the rhythm. At this point begins very substantial borrowing from the *Temple of Glas*. But there is

this difference: Lydgate at first sees pictures, then persons; the poet here sees actual persons only. Lydgate abounds in names. Our poet, with his wonted preference for generality, mentions no one.

LXXVIII. 7. Cf. L. L. 2252.

LXXIX. 1. "Quhois," dissyllabic, cf. lvi. 5. 6. "Solempnit" is a Scots form preferable to "solempnē." "Solemnitly" is found in *Wallace*, viii. 655, and in *Legends of the Saints*, xvii. 202.

LXXX. "And off gude folkis" is a better amendment of rhythm than to accent final syllable either of "gude" or of "folkis," cf. i. 7 and xlvii. 1. 5. "Besyde," cf. *Legends of Saints*, ii. 226-7:

> And besyd it to morne ȝe se may
> twa men stannand besyd it prayand.

7. Omission of nom. cf. x. 2.

LXXXI. 2. Cf. *Temple of Glas*, ll. 203-4. 5. "Ay" and "amang," i.e. "ever" and "occasionally" present the same kind of contradiction as "besyde," "next," and "with," in lxxx. 5, 7.

LXXXII. 3. W.'s "behyndē" commends itself. 6. "With billis," i.e. "petitions," cf. T. G., ll. 315-320.

LXXXIII. 3. "ȝond there" as reading will commend itself. For "gree" see note on lix. 6. 7. "Endyng-day": cf. C. T. D. 507.

LXXXIV. 7. "Thai lakkit noght gude will" would be more in accordance with poet's usage. Yet "lak" is frequently found in passive sense "to be wanting," see *Piers Plowman*, B. xi. 280: "Hem shulde lakke no lyflode."

LXXXV. 3. For omission of nom., and especially of relative nom., see note on xvii. 5. 5. "The" before "poetis" or "sciencis" is redundant. 7. Cf. L. L. 107.

LXXXVI. In 1, as elsewhere, one wishes that it were permissible to read "estage." Change of order in 5 improves rhythm.

LXXXVII. 2. "All day," "every day," "continually," cf. C. T. B. 1702: "For sely child wol al day sone leere." 3-7. For construction cf. Chaucer, C. T. D. 257-261, and ibid. 925-930. 7. "Some for excess."

LXXXVIII. 1. S.'s and W.'s amendments of metre equally apt. Here there is again close following of *Temple of Glas*, ll. 163 sqq.

LXXXIX. 4. "Halfdel" is suggested by S., but "halflyng" is poet's word in xlix. 5. W. would simply read "seruicē," and leave text unaltered. He founds on C. T., Prol. 122: "Ful weel sche sȝong the seruicē dyuyne."

XC. Cf. T. G., ll. 196-202.

XCI. Ibid., ll. 207 sqq. 4. "Gruchit," suggested by Mr. Eyre-Todd in his *Medieval Scottish Poetry*, is preferable to W.'s "gruchē" or S.'s "gruchen."

XCII. 4. The speech of the voice, lxxxiii. 2 ends here.

XCIII. In 4 "iunyt" (see cxxxiii. 7) might well take the place of "coplit" repeated from line above. 5. S.'s substitution of "sche" for "so" is unnecessary, as W. has pointed out, "that" in 3 being rel. pron. "Sche," however, is more vivid and more poetical.

XCIV. 1. "Chiere," an unusual form of "chere." 5. See Introd. p. xv, also R. R. 885-908 especially:

> And also on his head was sette
> Of Roses reed a chapelett.

XCV. Cf. R. R. 937-982. 7. Cf. clx. 4-6.

XCVI. 1. "Of compas," cf. *Assembly of Ladies*, l. 54.

XCVII. 1. "Fair-Calling" is Bialacoil (Bel-Acueil) of R. R. He is there described ll. 2982-5 :

> A lusty bachelere
> Of good stature and of good hight
> And Bialacoil for sothe he hight,
> Sone he was to curtesie.

5. Omission of rel. pron. "that" is best way of amending metre. "On" might be omitted to detriment of sense. W.'s suggestion that "othir" should be slurred into monosyllable like "quethir" is scarcely admissible. For omission of rel. pron. as object, cf. xxiii. 4, though here the clause may also be interpreted with "time" as direct obj. 6, 7. See above note on xcv. 7.

XCVIII. 1. "Astonate," cf. "unquestionate," cxxv. 4. 4. Cf. lxxx. 5 and cxxiv. 4. 6. "And with," necessary for syntax and metre.

XCIX. 4. For this use of "Vertew," cf. lxxiv. 5. 6. "That" has an antecedent "I," implied in "my."

C. 5. "O anchor and helm" is Dr. Skeat's rendering, and he ingeniously explains by reference to Chaucer's mistranslation of *clavus* as *clavis* in Boethius, *De Cons. Phil.* III. 12 (see S.'s Ed. K. Q. p. 78). But "keye" may be "key," simply. As Venus is a fountain of remedy and cure of hearts, as well as a haven and an anchor, she may, by further mixture of metaphor, be addressed as a key of good fortune. Love's key is noted in R. R. ll. 2079 sqq. But "helm" or "tiller" is undoubtedly a more apt and poetical rendering.

CII. 5. See note xxxiv. 1. For artificiality of construction like "forgeue all this and schapith remedye" see Professor Gregory Smith on Middle Scots usage, *Specimens of Middle Scots*, Introd. p. xxxvi. 7. "Cause me to die," cf. ciii. 7.

CIV. 1. For absolute construction, cf. xlv. 3.

CVI. 6. "Forehede," which, in this reference is at once unusual and unpoetic, is probably a scribal error for "fairhede," i.e. beauty, which may here be rendered "thy goodly or gracious person."

CVII. Reading "byndand" in 5 brings sense to an otherwise unintelligible passage. "This is to say (although it belongs to me to wield the sceptre in the realm of love) that the effects of my bright beams, binding with others by eternal decree, have their influence in discovering means (of success) at times with reference both to things future and to things past : this matter (however) it is not my province to direct alone." In 3, 4 we have "effectis has" (instead of more common "hes"), the prevailing Middle Scots usage seldom found in K. Q. 4. "Aspectis," cf. Gower, *Conf. Amant.*, vii. 901-6 :

> But for to telle redely
> In what climate most comunly
> That this planete hath his effect,
> Seid is that he hath his aspect
> Upon the holi lond so cast
> That there is no pes stedefast.

7. "Writh," literally "to turn," see cxxii. 3. Cf. "Sa suld we wryth all sin away," Henryson, *The Bludy Serk*, l. 107. "For to wryth agathis wil fra cryst," *Legends of the Saints*, xlii. l. 97.

CVIII. 2. W. rejects the amendment of text and accents "othéris," translating as parenthesis : "Because, indeed, others influence that." 5. "Ad-

uertence," cf. xxv. 6, "aduert," and Lydgate, *To my Soverain Lady*, ll. 61, 62 :

> And sith myn advertence
> Is in you, reweth on my paynes smert.

"Aduertence" here, according to context, must mean either "knowledge" or "power." It could not possibly mean "retinue" or "following," as "aduertance" sometimes does : see Professor Gregory Smith's *Specimens of Middle Scots*, p. 261. 17, and note on passage. 6. Cf. L. L. 2545. 7. "I-wone," scribe has omitted to write n̄, as form is "i-wonne."

CIX. 7. The scribe's corrections give full line. Already in Mid. Scots, as now in Mod. Scots, "doken" is used as a singular like "dock." It is "doccan," plur. of "docce." For use of singular cf. Charles Murray, *Hamewith*, p. 6 : "But he cared na doit nor docken what they did or thocht or said."

CX. Here are one or two minor textual confusions. In 2 "Ianuarye" scans "Ian/ua/rye," and "vnlike" and "vnto" are therefore necessary for "like" and "to." Transposition of 5 and 4 would improve connection of thought. Douglas, Prol. to *Æn.* I., compares the owl and the parrot to mark the inferiority of his poetry to Virgil's :

> Quhilk is na mair lyk Virgile dar I lay
> Na þe owle resemblis þe papyngay.

7. "Prese" is the nearest approach to what is represented in MS., and gives good sense. It is a variant of "prise," "to be priced or prized." "The eye of a fish is not fit to be valued or rated so high as pearl in the goldsmith's craft." "Prise," the noun, is found in cxxviii. 5 and clxxxviii. 6. 7. Cf. L. L. 3271 for form "maked."

CXI. 5. See note on xix. 3. 7. "To schorten with," cf. xvi. 4, "to gouerne with."

CXII. 6. For this use of "supplye," cf. xv. 5.

CXIII. 4. The artificial form "alleris" is also found in *Legends of the Saints*, xxviii. 28 :

> for throu humylite but dred
> was Mary mad oure alleris med.

"Aller" is Chaucer's form for O.E. *ealra*, gen. pl. of *eall*, and probably the *is* here is due originally to a scribal flourish at end of word. For form "aller" in Chaucer, see C. T. Prol. l. 799 :

> Shal have a soper at oure aller cost.

Unusually close connection between stanzas cxiii. and cxiv., and between cxiv. and cxv.

CXV. 7. "Eft" is uncommon in this connection. "No longer is there any one."

CXVI. 2. "Dooth constreyne," cf. Q. J., l. 26. 4, 5. "And for a manifest sign all this rain comes as from my tears." For conceit that Venus' tears make rain, cf. *L'envoy de Chaucer à Scogan*, ll. 10, 11. Aurora's tears make dew : *Flour of Curtesye*, ll. 38-40. 4-7. There is a certain obscurity here. "Pleyne" is to be taken as adj., not as verb, though it might be taken as a verb. 6. S. makes "ybete" an infinitive, W. a p.p. It may be either, as, contrary to W.'s contention, such a form is found, not in K. Q., but in Q. J., l. 525.

CXVII. 1. "Stynten othir quhile" is certainly a scribal error for "stynt another quhile." 4. "Of" here is to be interpreted differently from "of" in cxvi. 5. It means here "under the influence of." 6. W. suggests "ryght" for Skeat's "as"; he cites many passages in support of his contention: xxvi. 3, liv. 3, civ. 7, cxxvii. 1, clxxviii. 7, clxxxviii. 7. But "into" is simpler, and conforms to Mid. Scots usage.

CXVIII. See Introduction, section iv., for variety of verbal inflections in this stanza, and cxix. 4. For "stound" in sense of "hour," cf. *Legends of the Saints*, xxx. 725-6:

> þat scho persauit wel apere
> þe stond of ded til hyre nere.

CXIX. 6. The text of MS. is difficult to understand. S. suggests the substitution of "That" for "most," and W. "haue" for "has." W. would then translate "must commonly have ever his observance." But "commonly" and "ay" go ill together. Looking to "ay" in 4 and 5, one is tempted to think that the third "ay" in 6 is an error. Perhaps it would be too bold a remedy to read "Most commonly has May his observance," and to take the line as parallel in meaning with 4. Simpler still is the reading adopted in text "haue thay." Yet this alteration is not quite satisfactory. This stanza and two which follow may be compared with L. L. ll. 15, 16.

CXX. 1. "Thus mayest thou see": "seyne" is for "sene," cf. clxxviii. 5. 2. W. makes a most ingenious and highly probable conjecture for "maist weye," which is unintelligible. He would read "most," i.e. "must obeye," the scribe having made an English "most" into "maist" as if it were an adj., and misread *ob* as *w*., "Which ye ought to obey and must." 3. "Because of sloth are wholly forgotten." "Is," like has," with plural nom., is rare in K. Q.

CXXII. 3. "Aspectis," cf. cvii. 4; "writh," ibid. 7.

CXXV. 1, 2. Cf. *Assembly of Ladies*, ll. 176, 177. 3. "Vnquestionate," an unusual form *ate* for occasional *et* and ordinary *it*, written to rhyme to "eye" as well as to "ear." 5. "Said renewe," i.e. "sober renewal"; "said," being equivalent to "sad," is wholly out of keeping with what follows. As a way out of the difficulty, "facture newe" is suggested, "facture" in the handwriting of the time having a certain resemblance to "saidre"; "facture," not a common word, is employed elsewhere by the poet. See l. 2 and lxvi. 6.

CXXVI. "Gydë led," see cxxiv. 6. "hath led," and clviii. 7, "has led." 6. *Flower and Leaf*, l. 596. 7. Omission of nom. to "likit," cf. x. 2.

CXXIX. 3. W. would read "on nycë" following "on vertew set" in 6. But "set of" is found in *Legends of the Saints*, xii. 161. In cxliv. 2 the MS. reading is "In vertew thy lufe is set."

CXXX. Cf. st. xv. For thought in 5 cf. Ep. to Ephes. ii. 20, 1 Cor. iii. 10, 11.

CXXXI. 6. Founding upon "schapith" in cii. 5 one may perhaps read "groundith" in spite of sing. "thy." As justification for this see Q. J. 314. For thought, cf. S. Matt. vii. 24.

CXXXII. W.'s pointing in 4, 5, given in text, and his rendering make the meaning clear. "Unless thy work (or deed) agree thereto, and all thy anxious carefulness be expressed." "Mesure" is a verb, and this usage may be compared with Lydgate's *A Commendation of Our Lady*, l. 119: "Mesure thy mourning, myn owne Margaryte."

CXXXIII. 1. See Eccles. iii. 1 sqq. Cf. C. T. E. 1972. 4. Cf. L. L. 1753. Chaucer, in N. P. T., l. 509, uses *Ecclesiaste* to signify *Ecclesiasticus*,

and when he alludes to this passage he does not name his author. Gower (C. A., vii. 4491) expressly calls Solomon Ecclesiaste. 2. "Bide weel, betide weel": "abit" is "abideth," as "writ" is "writeth." 3, 4. "He that knows only haste knows nothing of good fortune." Cf. Isaiah xxviii. 16.

CXXXIV. Cf. R. R. 4828 sqq. 1. Chaucer's words are "brotel" and "brotelnesse." See C. T. E. 1279.

CXXXV. Transposition of 5 and 4 would improve syntax. Scribe may have erred, as in clxxxv.

CXXXVI. 1, 2. Cf. Q. J., l. 496. 3. Cf. S. Matt. vii. 15; R. R. 6259:

> Who so took a wethers skynne
> And wrapped a gredy wolf therynne,
> For he shulde go with lambis whyte,
> Wenest thou not he wolde hem bite.

Also R. R. 7013-16:

> Outward lambren semen we,
> Full of goodnesse and of pitee,
> And inward we withouten fable
> Ben gredy wolves ravysable.

7. Cf. Q. J., ll. 489-90.

CXXXVII. 3. Cf. Chaucer, C. T. E. 1943, for "kid."

CXXXVIII. 3. The missing monosyllable may be "wel," or "ful," or "ryght."

CXXXIX. 5, 6. "And should like to be the man who could effect somewhat for her honour."

CXL. 5. Sense demands either "Nold I," suggested by S., or "wald noght be."

CXLI. 3. S.'s conjecture "faute" for "faynt" is very happy. 6, 7. "But desire so limits my wits that I care for no greater joy than your favour."

CXLII. 3. "Playnly" perhaps "fully" rather than "manifestly." 4. Having regard to "treuly" in cxxxix. 3, and to rhythm one would read "trewely without fantise." "Fantise" is in R. R. 1971, as "feyntise." Cf. *Flower and Leaf*, l. 549: "To seeke honour without feintyse or slouth." 5. The lacuna before "vp-rise" is puzzling. S.'s suggestion has the merit of simplicity; W.'s of being a single word, and that at least a probable verb before "vp-rise." Yet the idea that seems to be lacking is of will or desire on the part of the poet. 7. "Putten in balance": to put in doubt or danger, cf. *Book of Duchess*, l. 1020.

CXLIII. 7. "My greatest joy," cf. "more" in cxli. 7.

CXLIV. 2. Cf. cxxix. 6. 4-7, "And sincerely without reluctance to have pity on the distress and fever which hold your heart: I will pray Fortune that she may be no longer opposed to your passion."

CXLV. 2, 4, 5. Such rhymes as duellyńg, mellyńg, repellyńg, are found in Q. J. 242, 244; demýng, connyńg, but without rhyme in preceding syllable; also in Q. J. 196, 197, 199. 5. "Apperit": a reader expects "appointit" or "pertening." 6. Fortune has the two lots of weal and woe.

CXLVI. Like Chaucer, the poet is interested in the Predestinarian controversy. 4. "Wrething," variant of "writhing": cf. cvii. 7 and cxxii. 3. "Wrething" also means "making angry," *Legends of Saints*, iii. 58, but this meaning is not appropriate here. The stanza is difficult to explain, and W.'s "that" for "it," in 7, does not mend matters; while "and," in 6, seems superfluous. "Whatever may be the truth about Fortune and

her cuts, some scholars expound that your whole lot is pre-ordained in heaven, by whose mighty influences you are impelled to movement less or more there in the world (for this very reason calling that lot fortune) because the difference of the working of these influences should cause necessity, i.e., bring about a necessary result."

CXLVII. 4. For same Kentish form, see ix. 3 and xliv. 4. 6. "That" seems more apt than "the." 7. "According to (divine) purpose thus calling them fortune." "Cleping" qualifies "clerkis" in line 1. Cf. close of stanza cxlix.

CXLVIII. 1. "Knawing" may be either gerund or provincial form of "knawin." 5. "Anerly," a common form of "onely," would amend the metre.

CXLIX. 6. "And commune" should be "in commune," as in cxlvii. 6.

CLI. 3. MS. reading "quod he" shews a lapse from autobiographical standpoint. But, as scribal slips are numerous, it would be unfair to base an argument upon *he*. 4. "Straught as ony lyne"; cf. *Flower and Leaf*, l. 29. Cf. C. T. E. 2230. Tytler quotes *Paradise Lost*, iv. 555 sqq.

CLII. 4-6. Cf. R. R., ll. 122-27.

CLIII. 1-4. Highly elliptical. "That" wants verb, and relative nom. to "lap" is also wanting. 3. "Lap," pret. of "lepe"; cf. Burns' *Hallowe'en*, "lap the hool," leapt the husk: cf. Chaucer, P. F., ll. 183-89. 7. "Gesserant," a coat or cuirass of fine mail, is found also as "gesseron," "iesseraunt," O.F. "jazerant." See s.v. Mayhew and Skeat's *Concise Dictionary of Middle English*.

CLIV. 3. W.'s "sydē" is better rhythmically than S.'s "longē."

CLV. 1. For lion as king of beasts, cf. Dunbar, *The Thrissill and the Rois*, st. 13-16. 2. The panther is compared to the emerald because of its beauty. In O.E. Bestiary statement is:

> Panter is an wilde der
> Is non fairere in werlde her.

The Panther is therefore the symbol of Christ, who is fairer than all others. 3. Neckam, *De Naturis Rerum*, C. 124, opens his account of the squirrel with this characteristic: "Arguitur etiam desidiae ignavia hominis torpens, dum scuruli providam solertiam non attendit." 4. Ibid. C. 140: "Asinus animal oneriferum mancipium servituti addictum." 6. "Keen-eyed lynx": ibid. C. 138: "Lynx acumine visus perspicue novem fertur parietes penetrare." On the rhinoceros or unicorn, Ibid. C. 104: "Refert autem Isidorus quod tantae est fortitudinis ut nulla venantium virtute capiatur. Virgo autem proponitur puella, quae venienti sinum aperit, in quo omni ferocitate depositâ ille caput ponit sicque soporatus, velut inermis capitur." Neckam returns to the subject in his *De Laudibus Divinae Sapientiae*, ll. 167, 168:

> Rhinoceros capitur amplexu virginis
> Consimili renuat proditione capi.

CLVI. 2. This line recalls Neckam's opening verses on tiger as above, ll. 127, 128:

> Tigris, sublato foetu, velocior aura
> Instat atrox, sed nec segnius hostis abit.

"Fery": S. explains as "active," and connects with Icelandic *faerr*: cf. *King Horn*, l. 149, "hol and fer," the modern Scots "hale and fere." 3. "The elephant who loves to stand." In O.E. Bestiary (E. E. T. S.)

this epithet is explained by account given of habits of elephants, ll. 620 sqq. They bring forth in a standing position; when they fall they have no power to rise, and as they lean against trees to rest, the hunter saws these almost through, so that when elephants rest they may fall by the tree giving way. 4. See Chaucer, N. P. T. 5. "The high hills are a refuge for the wild goats," Ps. civ. 18. Looking to the literary origin of many of these allusions to animals, one is disposed to find in "elk for alblastrye" a reference to horn-tipped bows. It is even possible that the poet knew about the use of horns for bows. Perhaps he had read somewhere of the bow of Pandarus.

CLVII. 2. My colleague, Dr. Soutar, suggests the reading "martrik sable," which is in keeping with the scheme of epithets in these stanzas. Same reading is found in N. E. D. 5. "The wolf that does not hesitate at murder." "Ho" as equivalent to "halt" or "pause" is found in *The Bruce*, xx. l. 429, "And sa he did withouten ho." See also Gower, C. A. vii. 571, 5438. In Chaucer, C. T. A. 2533, "Ho" is the signal for silence and attention. In same tale, A. 1706, Theseus "cride Hoo!" commanding Palamon and Arcite to pause. Cf. also Q. J. 566. 6. Beaver is characterised in C. 140 of Neckam's *De Naturis Rerum*.

CLVIII. 3. S., Introd., p. xxxiii, suggests that "furth" may be read as dissyllabic. W. thinks this strained, and not in accordance with ordinary sense of "furth," as adverb. He suggests "by," but cxxvi. 1 would indicate "to" as more appropriate, or even "unto" with light extra syllable in middle of verse.

CLIX. 2. "A round place and y-wallit" is suggested as alternative to "roundē." 3. "Eftsonës" mends metre: it is found as trisyllable in xlii. 2. One might venture to read "In myddis (monosyllable) quhare-of eftsonës." 4. "Hufing": "waiting," cf. *The Bruce*, xix. 345, "He gart hufe to byd thar cummyng"; also ibid. 585, "He swa abaid hufand"; and L. L. 1046. 6. "Vpon" before, or "thar" after "quhich" would mend the metre.

CLX. 2. S.s "vnto" and W.'s "diuersē" both amend the rhythm, but putting "mony" before "diuerse" and reading "semyt" as monosyllable (see clxiii. 3) would be more in keeping with poet's manner. 4. S.'s conjecture for filling lacuna is excellent, but the amended text given is supported by xcvii. 6, 7, and xcv. 7.

CLXI. Another instance of run-on stanza. 1. S.'s suggestion "erëmyn" as sound of word commends itself. 3. "Chierē," for countenance, is not so common as "cherē," but it is several times found in Gower, C. A. 4. "And than," "thus" probably from line above, "It would relax."

CLXII. 7. The absence of contraction in "I ne wist" may be compared with *The Flower and the Leaf*, l. 104, "Ne wist I in what place I was." Cf. C. T. E. 1490.

CLXIII. 3. "Strong," "hard," "severe," seems as apt as "strange" to which S. alters the text. 4. "Thareon" instead of "than" amends sense and metre.

CLXIV. 1. We must either read "quhelē" with W. or take "void" as dissyllable, or both, for sake of rhythm. 2. W.'s suggestion commends itself. "Straight from the lowest point to the highest there was little vacant space on the wheel." 2, 5. With "hye" rhyming to "hye," cf. clviii. 2, 4, "mynd," "mynd." 3. "Had" before "sat" is given as an alternative to "longē" and "into place." 6. "Tofore" is suggested as an alternative to "so sore."

CLXV. 3. "It" seems more appropriate than "thaim" as object to "hath

y-thrungin." 5. Taking "euer" as dissyllable makes vocal final *ë* in "newë" unnecessary.

CLXVI. 4. The conjectural reading in text is slightly more musical than MS., and "hailsing" or embracing a goddess seems hardly in keeping with the poet's humility. "Half abashed for shame" is more apt. Cf. xlix. 5.

CLXVII. 5. "Along and across," i.e., "through my whole being." The phrase is used in the *Knight's Tale* in description of the doors of the Temple of Mars:

> The dores were al of adamant eterne
> Y-clenched overthwart and endëlong
> With iren tough.

CLXVIII. 3. "Bot" is here equivalent to "nothing but," "only." 7. On poet and chess, see Introd., p. lvii, also Charles d'Orléans, *Poème de la Prison*, Ballade lviii., ll. 1-9.

CLXIX. 5. "Stale." It is difficult to reject the meaning *stale mate*, as the chess metaphor is repeated in this stanza, and it fits the situation because in stale mate neither the King nor any other piece can be moved. A parallel passage is hard to find. In *Reson and Sensuallyte*, 5901-3, we read:

> Whan the play I-ended was
> Atwex hem two, thus stood the cas:
> Without a maat on outher syde.

"Stalle," found also as "stal" and "stale" (vid. Mayhew and Skeat's C. D. M. E.) means place, station, prison. Cf. next st. 3, "y-stallit." 6. "Without joy (or prosperity) from the fates."

CLXX. 2. Accenting "wantis" and "confort" makes addition of final ë to "hert" unnecessary. For omission of rel. before "suld," cf. xvii. 5. 5, 6, 7. A very difficult passage, and possibly in 7 corrupt. S. takes "Be" as a preposition, and translates "be froward opposyt," "by means of the perverse men opposite you," and 7, "Now shall they turn and look on the dirt." He rejects emphatically the rendering of Jamieson, who takes "dert" as a verb. W. alters "quhere" to "thare," explains "aspert" as a derivative from O.F. *esperdre*, "to be astonished"; makes "be" a prep. and translates: "Though thy beginning has been retrograde"—i.e., "Though thou at the beginning of thy life course hast been kept back and oppressed by shameful men who opposed it, now shall they turn round in stupid astonishment and fall in the mud." But "be" is probably imperative of verb and *aspert* is *appert*, open, and the closing words of 7 may be "lukës on the dert," *dert* being, as Jamieson asserts, a verb. A possible rendering is, therefore: "Though the early part of thy love-suit has had opposition, be obstinate, resolved, and likewise open, now the fates shall turn and dart looks upon thee." This is certainly far from satisfactory, not least so from the fact that "dart" as verb in this figurative sense is not found early. In N. E. D. the earliest passage quoted is from Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis*, l. 196. 7. A couplet in Chaucer (C. T. D., 75, 76) suggests a widely different and certainly a more poetic rendering:

> The dart is set up of virginitee,
> Cacche who so may, who renneth best lat see.

Professor Skeat, in his notes to these lines in his edition of Chaucer, interprets "dart" as "prize," and he quotes Lydgate, *Falls of Princes*, fol. xxvi.:

> And oft it happeneth he that hath best ron
> Doth not the spere like his desert possede.

He mentions also that on the margin of the Ellesmere MS., at this point, there is a quotation from S. Jerome: "Proponit ἀγωνοθέτης praemium, inuitat ad cursum, tenet in manu uirginitatis brauium, et clamitat qui potest capere, capiat." In the foot-race in the *Aeneid* (Book V.) Cretan darts are a part of the gift made to all the runners. "Goal" would suit our poet's context even better than "prize," and would form an appropriate contrast to a "retrograde beginning."

CLXXI. 5. "Prime," early part of day, 6 to 9 a.m. S. makes this allegorical. It may well refer literally to conversation with Venus about the natural time of day when imaginary conversation was taking place.

CLXXII. 1. "Tho tofore" is better than "this tofore." "Tho" gives antecedent to "That" in 2. 4. Cf. Q. J., ll. 216-7. 4, 5. Rhymes "fall," "fall." See clviii. 2, 4, clxiv. 2, 5.

CLXXIII. This reference to conflict is by S. compared to Chaucer, T. and C. iv. 302-8. For thought on spiritual character of soul, cf. R. R. 5653 sqq., and on conflict between flesh and spirit, S. Paul, Ep. Galat. v. 17.

CLXXIV. 1. Reading "couert," and taking it as p.p. of "coueren," to recover, W. translates: "When I came to myself, I thought actually to see all that had happened in my dream-vision." The pret. and p.p. "couerit" is common, and pret. occurs in *Christis Kirk on the Grene*, st. xiii.: "Than with thre routes sone thay raisit him, And couerit him out of swoune." But "Touert" is probably the MS. reading. "Mene" means either "I intend" or "I grieve." If latter be preferred, rendering would be: "I grieve to consider all this matter bearing upon myself."

CLXXV. 3. MS. "in" naturally suggests "into" as metrical amendment. 7. "Avisioun": cf. *Book of Duchess*, 285.

CLXXVI. 4. In MS. "humily" is written as in cvi. 4, without stroke over ū and with curl to i, thus, ꝺ. 5. "More" is redundant.

CLXXVII. 3. With coming of dove, cf. *Mort d'Arthur*, xi. c. 2: "And anon there came in a dove at a window, and in her mouth there seemed a little censer of gold." Also *In Memoriam*, ciii., st. 4:

> Then flew in a dove
> And brought a summons from the sea.

"Calk" is common Northern form. 7. See note on st. xxxiv. Accenting kaléndis makes change in text unnecessary.

CLXXVIII. 1, 2. Cf. T. G., l. 593 sqq., where Venus casts hawthorn branches into lady's lap. 4. "Lettris" would be more apt than "branchis." Cf. *Legends of the Saints*, xliii. 109-11:

> And in his hand bare a buke
> þe quhilk rycht fare ves on to luke
> Vith goldene lettris wrytene brod.

CLXXIX. 4. See L. L., l. 80. 6. "The flouris fair present" is an absolute construction, and "present" is p.p., cf. civ. 1.

CLXXX. 1. "Quhilk" refers to all brought by dove, branch, green stalks, writing. "It," in 3, refers to writing only.

CLXXXI. 2. This line qualifies "paynis" in 3, and the rendering is: "Which token truly thereafter, day by day, from henceforth did away the pains which had before mastered all my wits." 7. As W. points out, "souiraine" is demanded by rhyme.

CLXXXII. 2. "With so little justification (or equity)." Cf. Professor Gregory Smith's *Specimens of Middle Scots*, p. 83, l. 20: "Held the landis apon lytill evin and small title of rycht in thai times." 4. "Had

once crept into heaven." "Crepen" in Mid. Eng. is found both strong and weak. "Crepte," "creap," "crep," and "crope" are all found as pret., just as in Mod. Scots both "crap" and "creepit" are used. 5. "O thank," i.e., "one thought." One would look for "of thank" "from gratitude."

CLXXXIV. This stanza has no complete sentence and should possibly be read "Beseche I," or there should be a comma after "felicitee" in preceding line, and the whole thought in both stanzas should be connected with "I pray" in clxxxv. 4. Plainly the poet either had a finite verb or thought he had one. W. connects with clxxxiii. 6. Once more, as in i. 2, and Q. J., ll. 9, 10, we have pres. part. used like present or pret. indic. 4, 5, 6. "His" violates concord in view of "brethir" and "seruandis." Unfortunately one cannot venture to substitute Chaucerian "her" or "hir." 5. Elliptical and grammatically confused. Venus is asked to assuage the lover's pain and to direct events so that he may soon stand in favour.

CLXXXV. 4. The abbreviated forms "prentissehed" and "prentis" are not uncommon in M.E. and M. Scots. 7. "Lo!" a mannerism, see note on xlix. 5

CLXXXVI. 2. Cf. L. L. 15. 3. "Has" with plur. nom., cf. cxliv. 6; "curage at the rose to pull," cf. R. R. 3361-66; 4069-80; 4117-28.

CLXXXVII. Lines 5-7 suggest the narrative of the King's death. 7. "From the deth"; cf. L. L. 2959.

CLXXXVIII. 5, 6. "Remufe" seems passive in 5, but in 6 "bot onely deth" implies that the poet treats it as active.

CLXXXIX. 1. "Blisfull": see cxcii. 4. 2. Tytler is little to be blamed for reading "glateren," as only a magnifying glass shews that an apparent *a* is *it*.

CXCI. 3. "Sanctis marciall," which S. interprets "Saints of the month of March," must be considered somewhat inapt after "castle wall" and before "green boughs." "Marciall" invariably means "martial," "pertaining to war," as in Chaucer, T. and C. iv. 1669: "torney marcial," and "factis merciall" in the prologue to *The Spectacle of Love* (Greg. Smith, *Specimens* 18, l. 2). Indeed, "factis," by the simple substitution of *s* for *f* and writing *ā* instead of *a*, would become "sanctis." The alternative reading "factis marciall" is therefore given in note to amended text. 4. "Accident," referring to his capture by enemies at sea, as told in st. xxiv. 7. "Se" seems more apt than "be."

CXCII. 5, 6. See Introd., pp. liv, lv, also for cxciii. 5-7.

CXCIV. Stock medieval apology, cf. close of Q. J. and of *Flower and Leaf*. 3. "Pray the reder" suggests a wide appeal.

CXCV. 1. Reading as monosyllable, "cummyst" makes MS. reading "in the presence" quite rhythmical. 3. "To here," cf. iv. 1.

CXCVI. 1. "Endith" for "endit." Cf. L. L. *passim* and Q. J., l. 16. 4. "Sitt," "sitteth."

CXCVII. 1. "Inpnis," even when amended to "impnis," connected as it is with ll. 6, 7, has no meaning. Hymns have no souls and books are not recommended to them. "Ympis," meaning "scions," gives good sense, and recalls Chaucer's

> Of fieble trees ther commen wrecched ympes (C. T. B. 3145).

2. See Introd., pp. lx-lxvi, for debt to Gower and Chaucer, and on omission of Lydgate as one of poet's masters.

NOTES TO THE QUARE OF JELUSY.

The scribal slips in the MS. text of this poem are relatively few, and there is no such elementary scheme of punctuation as in the larger portion of the text of the *Kingis Quair*. The actual text, but with modern pointing and initial capitals to proper names, is given in the poem as printed. Suggested textual amendments and the more important variants of the Bannatyne Club editor are given in the footnotes. Many of his deviations from the MS. are errors of transcription. Overlining of letters in MS. text of both Quairs is erratic, often indeed meaningless, but in this respect the *Quare of Jelusy* is the worse of the two. In the text as printed, overlining is therefore shewn only where it is fairly clear and emphatic.

1. Sqq. Opening, on a morning in May, and many little descriptive touches may be compared with opening of *Romaunt of the Rose* and of *The Goldyn Targe* of Dunbar, as well as with that of L. L. and K. Q., for contrast.

3, 4. Cf. *Goldyn Targe*, 65, 66, "Felde . . . bene." "Bene" often used for "is," L., L. l. 46.

6. Cf. Chaucer, L. G. W., B. 123-127 :

> Forgeten had the erthe his pore estate
> Of wyntir, that him naked made and mate,
> And with his swerd of cold so sore greved.

Also *Squire's Tale*, l. 57 :

> Agayne the swerd of winter kene and cold.

7. The date is the 9th of May, cf. *Squire's Tale*, l. 47 : "The last Idus of March."

9, 10. "Ascending . . . and forth his bemys sent." Concord demands either "ascendit" in l. 9, or "had" for "and" in l. 10. For similar construction cf. K. Q. i. 2, and clxxxiv. 1.

13. Cf. *Knight's Tale*, ll. 182-189 ; ibid. 699 ; T. and C. ii. 112.

14. Cf. K. Q. x. 2. 18. "Ayer" is dissyllabic.

23-26. Cf. K. Q. x. 1 sqq. 26. Cf. K. Q. cxvi. 2.

29. "And power has," cf. *Ballad of Good Counsel*.

35-45. Cf. K. Q. xxxiii., xl. sqq. 39, 40. Cf. T. G. 276.

41. "Gudliare," K. Q. xlix. 3.

44. Cf. *Knight's Tale*, l. 242 : K. Q. xlii., xliv.

45. Cf. Dunbar, G. T., l. 133.

52. "Sche sor/owit/sche sik^{2}t/sche sore/compleyn/it."

59. "Goddesse Imeneus." One of many instances in Middle Scots poetry of ignorance of classical mythology. Cf. l. 313 ; K. Q. xix. 3 ; and xx. 1 sqq., and Henryson's *O. and E.* ll. 30, 31. Poet might have seen picture or statue of girlish-looking Hymenæus, and have supposed the god a goddess. Cf. Chaucer, C. T. E. 1730-1 : "Ymeneus that god of weddyng is."

62. Frequent use of "quhy" as a noun is common to Q. J., K. Q., and L. L.
63. "Under your rigorous law." For use of "strong" in this sense (French *fort*), cf. K. Q. lxviii. 3 ; vid. also Gower, *Conf. Amant.* v. 7377-8, quoted in Introd., section iii.
64. "As certainly as (I am) here in thy presence."
71-2. "Pluto and his derk regioun." Cf. Chaucer, C. T. A., 2082, and C. T. F. 1074 sqq. :

> Prey hire to sinken every rok adoun
> Into hir owene dirke regioun
> Under the ground ther Pluto dwelleth inne.

71-74. Vid. Ovid, *Metamorph.* v.
82. With prayer to Jupiter, cf. K. Q. xxv. 6, 7.
83. "And wote," necessary for metre and grammar.
86. "Ilk," every, is demanded by the context.
88. Cf. L. L. 922.
89. "Ane othir dance," cf. l. 226 ; also K. Q. xlv. 48, and clxxxv. 2.
102. Cf. L. L., l. 841.
111. "Hir allone." Kindred constructions are found : "Walkand your allone," and "thair allane," by themselves. Vid. Gregory Smith, *Specimens of Middle Scots*, p. 68, 18, and p. 67, 12.
121. Use of interrogation. Cf. L. L. 160. See Introd., section iii.
122. "Quhy," as noun. Cf. l. 62.
130. Cf. K. Q. lviii.
122-132. Cf. Chaucer's *Squire's Tale*, 450-452 :

> Is this for sorwe of deeth or los of love ?
> For, as I trowe, thise ben causes two
> That causen most a gentil herte wo.

137. With "cherlisch" cf. Chaucer, C. T. F. 1523.
161-2. A commonplace with Chaucerians English and Scottish. Cf. ll. 185-6.
172. The death of Hercules, after his poisoning by the shirt of Nessus sent by Deianeira, is described by Ovid, *Metamorph.* ix. ; vid. also *Temple of Glas*, 787-8 ; *Black Knight*, 344 ; Chaucer, *Monk's Tale*, 3285 sqq. ; C. T. D. 725-6 ; Gower, *Conf. Amant.*, Bk. II. 2298-2302.
173-4. Nero slew himself only when he realised that his pursuers were near at hand, Suetonius, Nero, 48, 49.
176. Charon's boat, presumably.
177. Cf. Chaucer, P. F. 7.
180. Rhythm demands a trisyllable instead of "menyt." "Inuyit," a conjectural reading, suits the rhythm, is like "menyt" in form, and gives an intelligible meaning.
185-6. Vid. supra 161-2.
191. Invocation may be compared with K. Q. xiv.
194. "I" probably taken down from line above. "Ay" is demanded by context : "who are always void."
198. "Ony" is given as conjectural reading for "mony," which implies a something contradictory to the poet's thought.
203. "Suffering," for "sufferen." Cf. 228 and 369 ; also L. L. 443, 2971.
212. "At your myght," i.e., "to the utmost of your power."
216-7. Cf. K. Q. clxxii. 3, 4.
218. "Into this erth" a mannerism in Q. J. Cf. L. L. 2874, and *passim.*
220. "Worldis," for "wordes," requires no defence.
221. "Ne were," cf. K. Q. clxii. 7.

222. Proverbs xii. 4, and xxxi. 10-31 ; also Ecclesiasticus xxvi.
223. The verse is incomplete ; a syllable is wanted after "worth." Supplying "is" gives the meaning "much honour is from their rule."
226. "Apoun ane othir dance." Cf. l. 89, and K. Q., as above.
228. "Suffren," Midland, pres. plur.
242. "His," lapse from concord. 251. "*W*ick't."
267. "Anker in the stone," i.e., "nun (or monk) in the cloister." Cf. English Poems of Charles d'Orléans, p. 260, Roxburghe Club Edition :

> A sely anker that in the selle
> I-closid art with stone, and gost not out.

272-3. "Sche . . . they." Cf. ll. 104-5.
284. For spy of the jealous person cf. R. R. 4285-7 :

> Ther hath ordeyned Ielousye
> An olde vekke forto espye
> The maner of his governance.

285. One must either read "tailis," which is an unusual pronunciation, or supply some such word as "*3*it" before "no."
289. "As far as he can bring it about."
295. Cf. Chaucer, *The Compleynt of Faire Anelyda upon Fals Arcyte*, 87.
300. Must read either "into old" or "in olde." Cf. Chaucer, P. F. 24.
303. "Verreis." The form of this word would indicate the meaning "wars," or "makes war," but the context seems to demand "wearies." "For Solomon says to him who fancies that there is always something behind, and grows weary of holding fast by the nature of love."
307. "That hot," so hot. Cf. K. Q. xlii. 3.
311. "Ecco," vid. for story of Echo, Ovid, *Metamorph.* iii. 356 sqq. ; Gower, *Conf. Amantis*, v. 4573-4652. Chaucer, C. T. E. 1189-90—Envoy to *Clerk's Tale* :

> Folweth Ekko, that holdeth no silence,
> But ever answereth at the countretaille.

313. "Thesiphone," vid. above, l. 59, and note *in loco ;* also note on K. Q. xix.
318-23. "Sydrake . . . Bokas King." The book, which is entitled *Bocchus and Sidrake*, is thus described in Brunet's *Manuel de Libraire :* "This curious book, in which to very singular questions are made answers still more singular." There are one thousand and eighty-four questions. The first edition was printed at Paris in 1486. It was translated into English by Hugo Caumpden, and published by Thomas Godfrey, probably in 1560. There is a MS. of the French original in the Bodleian Library (MSS. Bodl. 461) : "Le livre de Sydrac le philosophe, apellé livre de la Fontane de totes sapiences." It is thus characterised : "Est quasi systema totius philosophiae naturalis et Astrologicae." A manuscript English translation is also in the Bodleian (MSS. Laud. 559). The book takes its title from the chief characters in the narrative leading up to the didactic portion which forms the body of the treatise. Bocchus is an Eastern potentate, King of Bactria in the great Ind. He has an enemy, King Garab, who rules over the greater part of India. Against this enemy Bocchus had begun to fortify a city, but what was built by day was cast down by night. By the advice of his lords and commonalty he sent for astronomers and philosophers, promising rich rewards to the counsellor who should enable him to overcome the mysterious hostile power which produced this portent. The astronomers asked for forty

days to consider the matter. Their prudent delay notwithstanding, they were able to give but barren counsel, and were therefore thrown into prison. This failure delighted Garab, who now sent to demand the daughter of Bocchus "to be his fere." But the proposal so enraged Bocchus that he killed the messengers, and caused proclamation to be made, offering his daughter in marriage and very great treasure to any man who could get him out of his difficulty. As he was sitting in heaviness an old man appeared, who promised to help him, saying that he desired no reward. He told the king that a messenger must be sent to Tractaban for the book on Astronomy which Noah had in Ottylye. He was to ask at the same time for the loan of the astronomer Sydrak.

Tractaban received the messenger gladly. He knew about the old book which had belonged to Noah. This book told of something on a hill which had the remarkable property of enabling anyone who came to it to do whatever he would. He had never reached the hill himself, but he knew that Bocchus was powerful and would succeed. He accordingly sent him the book and Sydrak.

On his arrival Sydrak told Bocchus that the land was bewitched. He advised him to find a hill far in the land of Ind, the Raven's Greenhill, to which Noah had despatched the raven in search of dry land. The hill was four days' journey in length and three days' journey in breadth, and it lay near the country of the Amazons. On it grew twelve thousand herbs, four thousand good, four thousand bad, and four thousand neither good nor bad. The people of the land were strange to look upon, for they had human bodies and hounds' faces. And in order to gain one's heart's desire one must seek among the good herbs without ceasing to find the right herb.

King Bocchus rejoiced, and resolved to undertake the journey. On the thirteenth day he arrived at the foot of the Raven's Greenhill, where he rested for three days. He had to fight the inhabitants, and after a stout struggle he was victorious. Now Bocchus was a heathen and knew not God, but Sydrak believed in the Trinity. Bocchus had taken his "maumetts" with him, and he took out these idols and offered sacrifice on the eighteenth day after he came to the hill. Sydrak, seeing this, wondered, and from wonder he passed to rage, and refused to offer any sacrifice save to Him who made heaven and earth. At this point he suggested a prayer-competition between himself and an idolator. Sydrak prayed to God to overcome the devil, and fire came down from heaven and destroyed the idols, and killed one hundred and twenty persons, the devil himself escaping with a great cry. King Bocchus, who barely escaped, was so angry that he cast Sydrak into prison. There he lay for nine days, and, in spite of strenuous effort on the part of Bocchus and his Council to make a pagan of him, he clave to his religion, and was comforted by an angel who promised that the prisoner should yet convert King Bocchus.

The angel showed Sydrak the manner of going to work. He was to procure an earthen pot, and set it on three stakes in the name of the Trinity. He was to fill the pot with clear water, and invite the king to look into the water. As Bocchus did this, he saw the Trinity in heaven, and the angels standing round. Bocchus believed, but asked how could Three be in One, and he was told to consider how the Sun and Light and Heat are one.

A fresh disputation with the representatives of idolatry followed, and

Sydrak was victorious. He was given poison to drink, but the poison did not hurt him. His opponents were killed by thunder and lightning. Bocchus was thought by his people to be mad, but he adhered to his Christian profession and was instructed by Sydrak.

The body of the book is taken up by Sydrak's answers to the many questions put to him.

330. "Feuir that is cotidiane." Cf. Gower on Jealousy in *Conf. Amantis*, Bk. V. ll. 429-634, and particularly 463-4 :

So as it worcketh on a man
A Feivre, it is cotidian.

334-5. "Herubus . . . þat of Inuye the fader is." This statement about Erebus comes directly or indirectly from Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, iii. 17 : "Quod si ita est Coeli quoque parentes dii habendi sunt, Aether et Dies, eorumque fratres et sorores, qui a genealogis antiquis sic nominantur, Amor, Dolus, Metus, Labor, Invidentia, Fatum, Senectus, Mors, Tenebrae, Miseria, Querela, Gratia, Fraus, Pertinacia, Parcae, Hesperides, Somnia : quos omnes Erebo et Nocte natos ferunt."

344. "Ay to the worst he demith." Cf. Chaucer, *Squire's Tale*, l. 224 :

They demen gladly to the badder end.

351. Book of Daniel i. 11-16.

355. "Tygir," cf. *Squire's Tale*, 543 :

This tygre ful of doublenesse.

360. "Which Christ calls the wedding garment," S. Matt. xxii. 1-14.

361. "Without which."

362. "But he misses the joy and the feast."

363-5. 1 Corinthians xiii. "Most," "greatest."

366. "Chapture," an unusual form for "chapitre."

374. "Lyvith" and "birnyth," used for pres. indic. plural, like Scottish "lyvis" and "birnis." Cf. K. Q. cxviii. 4.

378. Two syllables needed to complete measure. Suggested reading, "Thare cummith suich" fits context and amends metre.

382-6. This fifteenth-century Scottish criminal is not named in any of the older histories.

391-3. For construction cf. Chaucer, C. T. D. 925-930, and ibid. 257-261.

396-400. S. Matt. xviii. 7-9.

401. Cf. Chaucer, C. T. H. 314-5, and 332-3 :

Daun Salomon, as wise clerkes seyn,
Techeth a man to kepen his tonge weel
* * * *
The firste vertu, sone, if thou wolt leere,
Is to restreyne and kepe wel thy tonge.

401-2. Among poets who write on government of tongue is the author of the *Ballad of Good Counsel* :

Sen word is thrall, and thocht is only fre
Thou dant thy tung, that power has and may.

Cf. also Henryson in *Aganis Haisty Creddence of Titlaris*. S. James iii. was probably also in poet's mind.

403. Cf. Epistle of S. James iii. 2 : "If any man offend not in word, the same is a perfect man."

404. Cf. Chaucer, C. T. D. 775-779 :

> "Bet is," quod he, "thyn habitacioun
> Be with a leoun or a foul dragoun,
> Than with a womman usynge for to chyde."
> "Bet is," quod he, "hye in the roof abyde,
> Than with an angry wyf doun in the hous."

404-6. Cf. Ps. lvii. 4, and Ecclesiasticus xxv. 16 : "I had rather dwell with a lion and a dragon than to keep house with a wicked woman."

414. "Tak kepe," cf. C. T. E. 1058.

415-21. A pardonable hyperbole. Vid. Proverbs vi. 34 and Canticles viii. 6.

422. sqq. The Emperor Henry II. of Germany (S. Henry). The story of his jealousy of his empress, Cunegunda, is told in the *Legenda Aurea*. The tale of the ordeal of Cunegunda, of Henry's danger after death, and of S. Lawrence's intervention for his salvation, is told in the Scottish *Legends of the Saints* under *S. Laurence*. See S. T. S. edition, ed. Metcalfe, i., pp. 422-424.

432. Hiatus, "the ilk." Cf. K. Q. clxii. 7.

443. "Usith" rhymes with "ariseth." This pronunciation is still found in certain N. Scottish dialects, where "use" is *ēēce*. "Use of," in the sense of French *user de* is an uncommon idiom.

446. See above note on 391.

458. "The tone," i.e., "that one." "Harmyth to," imitation of Latin construction, to shew dative.

462. "Scland'rith," "feyn'th."

464. "Euill" here, as almost invariably, a monosyllable.

467. Cf. Lydgate, *Temple of Glas*, 148, "Serpent of fals Jalousye" ; also *T. G.* interpolated stanzas between 495, 496, Schick's edition, p. 21. Chaucer, C. T. F. 511-12.

468-9. Cf. Douglas, ii. 171, Prologue to *Aeneid*, Bk. IV.

469. "Thou lovith," "thou feynyth." Apparently a false analogical form. Regular Scots inflection is "lovis," "feynis." Cf. 553 and 541.

474. Context demands "verray," not "euery."

479. Similarly "his," not "this."

480. With "althirmost" cf. "althir best," L. L. 109.

493. "Provith," for "provit," as in L. L. Cf. K. Q. cxcvi. 1 ; L. L. *passim*.

516-7. "Who shall bewail in their weeping, evening and morning, those who see beforehand, but who yet afterwards run to their own sorrow."

524. "Soundith vnto gude." Cf. Chaucer, C. T., Prologue 307 : "Sowninge in moral vertu was his speche" ; also L. L. Prologue 149 : "Quhich soundith not on to no heuynes." Cf. Chaucer, C. T. H. 195 : "That sowneth into vertu."

533. "Sewe" seems preferable to "schewe," as what the poet means is "to pursue," not "to show."

536. "For if it please you." "Lestith," cf. K. Q. 9, 147.

537. "To drinkyn of the tonne." Cf. Chaucer, *Clerk's Tale*, 214 :

> Wel ofter of the welle than of the tonne
> She drank.

C. T. D. 170, and P. F. 104.

541. "Hath thou." See note on l. 469. "Danger" means "scorn" or "disdain."

543. Interpreting the text as it stands in the MS., we have "and expels all thy love in penance," etc. Reading "lyfe" for "lufe," we have "and

all thy life continues henceforth in penance," etc. Cf. K. Q. xx. 7, "Upward his course to driue in ariete."

548. Cf. Chaucer: "The swerd of sorwe, y-whet with fals plesaunce" (*Compl. of Faire Anel.* 212). L. L. 29: "The dredful suerd of lowis hot dissire."

549-50. Cf. K. Q. xiv. 6 sqq. The natural image is "weltering" rather than "walking."

551. "And knows not how to proceed or where to find a haven."

553. "Passith." See above, 469, 541.

557. "Fyir" is dissyllabic. In K. Q. and Q. J. many words like "fyir," "ayer," "fair," are occasionally dissyllabic, as they are in certain dialect-forms to this day. "Fire" is monysyllable in 599.

560. "By your own resolve." 561. "Consum'th."

563-6. The passage is elliptical and obscure. "For since it is so (or 'true it is,' reading 'suth'), you do not fail merely in one of the two aspects of your being, that is to say with respect to your earthly life; but you shall suffer in woe always, thereafter to be punished eternally, without ceasing. And very fitting it is that you should be so punished. He is your master; the Father of Hatred, from whom comes every evil purpose, whose love you always very busily preserve, rewards and serves you according to your desert."

566. "Ho," cf. K. Q. clvii. 5.

581. "Quho hath the worst," i.e., "who takes the worse part."

582. The Epilogue gives a stock poetic conclusion. Cf. K. Q. and T. G.

589. "Levith" is better than "beleu'th." "Leave the diction, and accept the purpose of the poem."

591. "Turment," p.p. "tormented."

597-607. The whole spirit of this conclusion may be contrasted with K. Q., clxxxi.-cxci., where the happy lover is at peace. Cf. also T. G. 1393 sqq.

GLOSSARIAL INDEX

The Parts of Speech are indicated by the usual abbreviations. References to the several poems are given thus: K. (*Kingis Quair*), J. (*Quare of Jelusy*), C. (*Ballad of Good Counsel*). To the first the reference is by stanzas, to the others by lines. A word introduced into the text is marked *a.r.*, alternative reading.

A, *adj.* one, K. 64, J. 15.
A, *prep.* on, K. 20.
Abaisit, Abaist, *v. p.p.* abashed, K. 41, 166.
Abandoun, *s.* abandon (Fr.), abandonment, K. 25.
Abate, *s.* attack, surprise, K. 40.
Abhominable, *adj.* abominable, J. 255.
Abit, *v.* 3. *s. pres.* abideth, K. 133.
Abufe, *adv.* above, K. 184.
Abune, *prep.* above, J. 103.
Accident, *s.* happening, incident, K. 191.
Accorde, *v.* agree, be fitting, K. 92, J. 134, 567.
Acquyte, *v.* requite, J. 315.
Adoun, *adv.* down, *passim.*
Aduert, *v.* shew, announce, K. 25.
Aduertence, *s.* attention, knowledge, control, K. 108.
Affray, *s.* terror, fright, fray, K. 185, C (*a*) 4.
Agane, Agayn, Agaynis, *prep.* against, K. 29, J. 6, 34, 80, 230.
Agayn, *adv.* again, K. 7.
Agit, *adj.* aged, K. 83.
Agone, *v. p.p.* ago, K. 196.
Airly, *adv.* early, K. 23.
Alawe, *adv.* below, down, K. 35.
Alblastrye, *s. collect.* weapons, cross-bows, K. 156.
Aleye, *s.* alley, K. 32.
Alight, *v. pret.* alighted, K. 61.
All, *adj.* all, *passim*; every, K. 87.
Allace, *interj.* alas, J. 61, K. 57, *passim.*
Alleris, *adj. gen. pl.*, O.E. ealra, of all, K. 113.
Allone, *adj.* alone, J. 19.
Allutterly, *adv.* all utterly, entirely, wholly, K. 129.
Almous, *adj.* alms *in adjective sense*, charitable, J. 424.
Als, *adv.* also, J. 382.
Als, *conj.* as, J. 37, K. *passim.*
Alssone, *adv.* as soon, K. 174.
Althirmost, *adv.* most of all, J. 480.
Amaille, *s.* enamel, K. 48.
Amang, Among, *adv.* occasionally, by turns, K. 33, 66, 81.
Amang, *prep.* among, J. 322.
Amene, *adj.* pleasant, J. 18.
Amongis, *prep.* amongst, K. 121.
Amorettis, *s. pl.* flowers of some kind, love-knots (?), K. 47.
And, *conj.* if, K. 161. 6.
Ane, *adj.*, one, a, an, J. 66, 89, *a.r.*, K. *passim.*
Anerly, *adv.* only, K. 148, *a.r.*
Anewis, *s. pl.*, wreaths, rings, K. 160.
Anker, *s.* anchor, K. 100.
Anker, *s.* anchorite, nun, J. 267.
Anon, Anone, *adv.* immediately, J. 94, K. 61, *passim.*
Aport, *s.* bearing, conduct, demeanour, K. 50, 177.
Apoun, *prep.* upon, J. 93, 106.
Appesare, *s.* appeaser, one who allays, or mitigates, K. 99.
Aquary, Aquarius, a sign of the zodiac, K. 1.
Araisit, *v. p.p.* raised, K. 75.
Arest, *s.* stop, pause, K. 61.
Argewe, *v.* argue, reason with, K. 27.
Ariete, *ablative of* Aries, sign of the zodiac, K. 20.
Armony, *s.* harmony, K. 33, 152.
Artow, *v. and pron.* art thou, K. 58, 173.

Ase, *s.* ass, K. 155.
Aspectis, *s. pl.* aspects, K. 99, 107.
Aspert, *adj.* open (?), astonished (?), K. 170: see note.
Aspye, *v.* espy, K. 31.
Assay, *s.* attempt, attack, K. 89.
Astert, *v.* move suddenly, flee, escape, J. 12, 68, K. 44.
Astert, *v. pret.* of above, K. 40.
Astonait, astonate, *v. p.p.* astonished, K. 98, 162.
Atonis, *adv.* at once, K. 68.
Atoure, *prep.* over, K. 81.
A-tuo, *adv.*, in two, J. 548.
Atyre, *s.* attire, K. 1, 46.
Auaile, *v.* avail, J. 16.
Auaille, Avale, *v.* fall down, descend, J. 101, 217: see Vale.
Auance, *v.* advance, promote, assist, K. 50, 79, 156.
Aucht, Aught, *v. pret.* ought, J. 414, K. 120, *passim*.
Auenture, *s.* fortune, experience, adventure K. 10, *passim*.
Auise, Avise, *v.* tell, take heed, warn, J. motto, J. 445, K. *passim*.
Avise, *s.* advice, K. 22.
Aw, *v.* owe, C. (b) *a.r.* 20, owest.
Awayte, *s.* waiting, watching, K. 121, J. 467.
A-werk, on work, to work, K. 4.
Awin, *adj.* own, K. 12.
Awite, *v.* blame, J. 248: see Wyte.
Aworth, *adv.* patiently, in good part, K. 6.
Axis, *s.* fever, feverish attack, K. 67: see Excesse.
Ay, Aye, *adv.* ever, always. K. and J. *passim*.
Ayer, *s.* air, J. 18, 103.
Aygone, *v. p.p.* ago, gone, J. 264.

Bade, *v. pret.* prayed, K. 72.
Balance, *s.* doubt, K. 142.
Balas, *s. pl.* kind of ruby, K. 46.
Band, *s.* fetter, chain, captivity, K. 43.
Barane, *adj.* barren, bare, J. 523.
Bare, *s.* bear (*usual Scots form for* boar *is bare*), K. 157.
Batailis, *s. pl.* battles, K. 85.
Be, *prep.* concerning, by, J. 511, 528, K. 20.
Be, *v. inf. ind. pres. and p.p.* be, *passim*.
Beautee, *s.* beauty, J. 37, K. 47.
Bede, *v.* bid, J. 398.
Bedis, *s. pl.* prayers, K. 62.
Befill, *v. pret.* befell, K. 80.
Begile, *v.* beguile, K. 90.
Begone, *v. p.p.* beset, befallen, happened, K. 30, 64.
Begonne, *v. p.p.* begun, J. 536, K. 34.
Begouth, *v. pret.* began, K. 13, 98.
Behald, *v.* behold, J. 108, K. 53.
Beleue, *v.* leave, miss, fail of, J. 361.
Beme, *s.* beam, J. 10, K. 151.
Bene, *v. pres. indic. and inf.* be, *passim*.
Bening, *adj.* benign, J. 196.
Bere, *v.* bear, K. 131.
Bereve, *v.* bereave, deprive, J. 392.
Beschade, *v.* shade, K. 32.
Beseche, Beseke, *v.* beseech, J. 187, K. 184.
Besene, *v. p.p.* arrayed, adorned, J. 36, 277.
Besid, *prep.* beside, K. 179.
Best, *s.* advantage, inclination, choice, K. 5.
Beste, *s.* beast, K. 27, 155.
Besy, *adj.*, busy, K. 64.
Besynesse, *s.* activity, K. 155.
Bet, *adv.* better, K. 101.
Bete, *v.* beat, J. 554, K. 122.
Betid, *v.* befallen, K. 179, *a.r.*
Beugh, Bew, *s.* bough, K. 32, 35, *passim*, J. 22.
Bill, *s.* beak, bill, K. 178.
Bill, *s.* petition, K. 82.
Birn, *v.* burn, J. 151, K. 168.
Blake, *adj.* black, K. 161.
Blamischere, *s.* blemisher, person who injures, K. 140.
Blude, *s.* blood, K. 40.
Boece, Boethius, K. 3.
Boith, *conj.* J. 40, *passim*.
Bonk, *s.* bank, J. 20.
Boke, *s.* Buke, book, K. 5, *passim*.
Bore, *s.* boar, K. 156.
Bore, *v. p.p.* borne, K. 181.
Borowe, *s. dat. sing.* pledge, K. 23.
Bot, *conj.* but, J. 44, *passim*.
Bot, But, *prep.* without, except, K. 94, J. 216, 359, 361; nothing but, only, K. 168.
Bot gif, *conj.* unless, K. 132, 195. But, unless, J. 143.
Bote, *s.* boat, K. 18.
Botemles, *adj.* without bottom, K. 70.
Boundin, *v. p.p.* bound, K. 61.
Branche, *s.* branch, *pl.* branchis, ornamentation, K. 178.
Brede, breadth *s.*, K. 21.
Bref, *adj.* brief, K. 127.
Breke, *v.* break, K. 115.
Brent, Brynt, *v. p.p.* burnt, J. 172, 370, 448.

Brethir, *s. pl.* brethren, K. 184.
Bricht, *adj.* bright, J. 38, *passim.*
Brid, *s.* bird, K. 65, 135.
Brocht, *v. p.p.* brought, J. 207.
Brukill, *adj.* brittle, changeable, unreliable, K. 134.
Brukilnese, *s.* fragility, brittleness, K. 194.
Bugill, *s.* ox, K. 157.
Buket, *s.* bucket, pail, K. 70.
Busk, *s.* bush, K. 135.
Bute, *s.* remedy, K. 69.
Butles, *adv.* without remedy, K. 70.
By, *prep.* *see* Be, concerning, K. 70.
Byd, *v.* pray, call, invite, K. 65.

Cace, *s.* case, fortune, K. 143.
Calde, *adj.* cold, K. 69, 103.
Calk, *s.* chalk, K. 177.
Calyope, Calliope, K. 17.
Cam, Come, *v. pret.* came, J. 48, 111, K. 60.
Can, *v.* began, do, did, J. 93, 401, K. 4.
Can, *v.* knows, K. 106, 133.
Capis, *s. pl.* capes, K. 81.
Capricorn, sign of the zodiac, K. 1.
Carefull, *adj.* full of care, anxious, K. 100, J. 26.
Carolis, *s. pl.* carols, K. 121.
Cart, *s.* car, chariot, J. 73.
Cas, *s.* case, quiver, K. 94.
Caucht, *v. pret.* caught, J. 426.
Certeyne, *adj.* certain, assured, K. 138.
Ces, Cesse, *v.* cease, J. 410, K. 59.
Chamberere, *s.* chamberlain, K. 97.
Chamelot, *s.* camlet, K. 157.
Chapellet, *s.* chaplet, K. 97, 160, 95.
Chapture, *s.* chapter, J. 366.
Chere, Chiere, *s.* countenance, smile, mirth, J. 49, 219, 272, *passim*, K. 161, *passim.*
Cherising, *v.s.* cherishing, J. 126.
Cheritee, *s.* charity, J. 342, 364.
Cherlisch, Churlisch, *adj.* churlish, J. 138, 143.
Chesyn, *v.* choose, J. 495.
Cheualry, *s.* chivalry, J. 215.
Cheyne, *s.* chain, K. 183.
Chiere, *s.* chair, K. 94,
Chose, *s.* choice, K. 92, 147.
Cinthia, the moon, K. 1, suggested reading.
Circulere, *adj.* circular, K. 1, 196.
Citherea, Venus, K. 1.
Clene, *adv.* altogether, wholly, K. 45.
Cleo, Clio, K. 19.
Clepe, *v.* call, J. 169, K. 149.
Clere, *adj.* bright, K. 1, *passim.*
Clergy, *s.* learning, scholarship, J. 320.
Clerk, *s.* scholar, man of learning, J. 317, K. 146, 147.
Cleuer, *v.* cling, hold on like a bird, K. 9, 159.
Clip, *v.* embrace, K. 75.
Clymbare, *adj.*, climbing, K. 156.
Clymben, *v.* climb, K. 163.
Come, *v.*: see Cam.
Commend, *s.* commendation, J. 84.
Commytt, *v. p.p.* committed, K. 196.
Compace, *v.* encompass, entangle, K. 141.
Compacience, *s.* sympathy, compassion, K. 118, 150.
Compas, *s.* extent, circuit, K. 96, 159.
Compiloure, *s.* compiler, author, K. 3.
Compleyne, *s.* complain, J. 30.
Comprise, *v.* comprehend, confine, K. 28.
Compt, *v.* count, C. (b) 10.
Condyt, *s.* guidance, guide, conductor, K. 113.
Confort, *s.* comfort, K. 25, 123, 170, 177, 191.
Confort, *v.* comfort, K. 4.
Connyng, *s.* cunning, skill, J. 162, K. 18, 50
Connyng, *adj.* skilful, prudent, K. 97.
Conquest, *v. p.p.* conquered, K. 100.
Consate, *s.* conceit, conception, thought, J. 343.
Consecrat, *v. p.p.* consecrated, K. 33.
Consequent, *s.* issue, result, conclusion, K. 189.
Conserue, *v.* keep, K. 112, J. 570.
Constreyne, *v.* constrain, compel, J. 26, K. 116.
Contempne, *v.* contemn, J. 193, 308.
Contenance, *s.* demeanour, behaviour, countenance, K. 50, 82, 121.
Contene, *v.* behave, continue, J. 357.
Contrair, Contrare, *a. and s.* J. 166, 482, K. *passim.*
Contree, *s.* country, K. 24, 151.
Conueye, *v.* direct, turn, convey, K. 104, 120.
Conuoye, *v.* conduct, accompany, lead, K. 19.
Convert, *v.* change, transform, J. 5.
Conyng, *s.* coney, K. 157.
Copill, *s.* stanza, K. 33.
Coplit, *v. p.p.* coupled, K. 92, 93.
Corage, Curage, *s.* courage, K. 164, 186.

Corinthies, *s. pl.* Corinthians, J. 363.
Corrupt, *v. p.p.* corrupted, J. 535.
Cotidiane, *adj.* quotidian, returning daily, J. 330.
Couate, *v.* covet, K. 142.
Couch, *v.* set, trim, adorn, K. 46.
Coud, Coude, Couth, Coutht, *v. pret.* could, *passim*, K. 196, knew (?) K. 2.
Couert, *v. p.p.* recovered, K. 174.
Counsale, Counsele, *s. and v.* counsel, J. 110, 574, K. 3.
Counterfeten, *v.* counterfeit, K. 36, 135.
Cowardy, *s.* cowardice, K. 89.
Craft, *s.* skill, K. 2.
Cremesye, *s.* crimson cloth, K. 109.
Crep, *v.* creep, C (a), 12, *p.p.* croppin, K. 182.
Cristin, *adj.* Christian, K. 142.
Crukit, *adj.* crooked, K. 195.
Cum, *v.* come, cummyth, commyth 3 *sing. pres. ind.* cummyn, *p.p., passim.*
Cupid, Cupid, K. 43.
Curall, *adj.* coral, K. 153.
Cure, *s.* care, charge, J. 461, K. 22.
Cuttis, *s. pl.* lots, K. 145.

Dampne, *v.* damn, condemn, J. 400.
Dangere, *s.* displeasure, scorn, danger. J. 541, K. 64, 149.
Dant, *v.* tame, subdue, C. (a) 10.
Dare, Dane, *v.* dare, J. 292, K. 140.
Dayesye, *s.* daisy, K. 109.
Decretit, *v. p.p.* decreed, K. 179.
Dede, *s.* deed, J. 328.
Dedely, *adj.* deathlike, K. 26, 169.
Dedeyne, *v.* deign, K. 168.
Dee, *v.* die, K. 57: see Deye.
Defade, *v.* cause to fade, dispirit, K. 170.
Defaute, *s.* defect, deficiency, K. 194.
Degoutit, *v. p.p.* spotted, K. 161.
Degysit, *v. p.p.* disguised, K. 81.
Deite, *s.*, deity, K. 105.
Delitable, *adj.*, delightful, K. 192.
Delyte, *s.* pleasure, delight, K. 6.
Demyng, *v.s.* judging, misjudgment, J. 242.
Depart, *v.* separate, sever, part, K. 92.
Depaynt, *v. and v. p.p.* paint, painted, K. 43, J. 4.
Dere, *adj.* dear, J. 130.
Dert, *s.* dirt (?), prize, goal (?), K. 170.
Dert, *v.* dart (?), K. 170.
Desate, Dissayte, *s.* deceit, K. 135, J. 468.
Despeire, Dispaire, *s. and v.* despair, K. 30, 104.
Destitude, *adj.* destitute, J. 523.
Determe, *v.* determine, resolve, K. 13.
Deuise, *v.* plan, devise, K. 28, J. 243.
Deuotly, *adv.* devoutly, K. 62.
Dewe, *adj.* due, K. 119.
Deye, *v.* die, K. 103.
Digne, *adj.* worthy, K. 125.
Direct, *v. p.p.* directed, K. 62.
Dirknesse, *s.* darkness, K. 71.
Discryve, *v.* describe, K. 4, 16.
Disese, *s.* pain, discomfort, J. 77.
Displesance, *s.* displeasure, K. 82.
Dispone, *v.* dispose, J. 266, 573.
Disport, *s.* game, sport, K. 134.
Ditee, *s.* utterance, message, ditty K. 36, 62.
Do, *v. p.p.* do, done, do, cause, J. 13, 351.
Doken, *s.* dock plant, K. 109: see note.
Doubilnesse, *s.* doubtfulness, duplicity, K. 18, 136.
Doun, *adv.* down, *passim.*
Dout, *s.* doubt. J. 450.
Doutfull, *adj.* timid, hesitating, K. 17.
Draware, *s.* drawer, creature that draws, K. 157.
Drawe, *v. p.p.* drawn, K. 82.
Dredefull, Dredfull, *adj.* full of fear, timid, K. 126, J. 554.
Dresse, *v.* arrange, prepare, array, K. 153, 156, 173, 175.
Druggare, *adj.* draught, drudging, K. 155.
Dryë, *adj.* dry, K. 69.
Duell, *v.* dwell, K. 68.
Dure, *s.* door, K. 75.
Dyane, Diana, J. 77.

Ecclesiaste, Ecclesiastes, K. 133.
Ecco, Echo, J. 311.
Eche, *pron.* each, K. 8.
Eene, *s. pl.* eyes, C (a), 10.
Effray, *s.* terror, fright, C. (b), 4.
Eft, *adv.* again, afterwards, K. 10.
Efter, *prep.* after, J. 428, according to, K. 147, for, in expectation of, K. 104.
Efter, *adv.* afterwards, J. 91.
Eftsone, Eftsones, *adv.* soon afterwards, K. 42, 159.
Ellis, *adv.* else, K. 57.
Emeraut, *s.* emerald, K. 46.
Enbroudin, *v. p.p.* embroidered, K. 152.
Encress, Encressyn, *v.* increase, C. (a), 1, J. 269.

Endlang, Endlong, *prep.* along, K. 81, 152, 167.
Endyte, *s.* style, J. 584.
Eneuch, *adj.* enough, K. 47.
Engrewe, *v.* annoy, J. 604.
Enprise, *s.* enterprise, undertaking, K. 20.
Enquere, *v.* inquire, J. 305.
Ensample, *s.* example, J. 387, K. 148, 172.
Enspire, *v.* inspire, J. 318.
Ensure, *v.* assure, K. 9.
Entent, *s.* purpose, intent, J. 589, K. 13, 56.
Entere, *adj.* entire, K. 62.
Entrit, *v. p.p.* entered, K. 185.
Erde, Erth, *s.* earth, J. 124, 142.
Ere, *s.* ear, K. 152, 172.
Eschame, *v.* to be ashamed, J. 256.
Escheve, Eschewe, *v.* escape, avoid, J. 271, 475.
Ese, *s.* ease, J. 77.
Esperus, the Evening Star, K. 72.
Est, *adj.* east, K. 20.
Estate, *s.* estate, high position, K. 3, *passim.*
Estward, *adv.* eastward, J. 34.
Esy, *adj.* easy, K. 95.
Eterne, *adj.* eternal, K. 107.
Ethena, Etna, J. 337.
Euerich, Euerichone, *pron.* everyone, K. 27, 64.
Euour, *adj.* ivory, K, 155.
Euirilkone, *pron.* everyone, J. 416.
Evin, *s.* evening, K. 73.
Evin, *adv.* exactly, K. 21.
Evinly, *adv.* exactly, K. 177.
Evyn, *s.* justification, equity, K. 182.
Excesse, *s.* : see Axis, K. 144.
Exill, *v.* banish, C. (a), 5, K. 117.
Exiltree, *s.* axletree, K. 189.
Eye, *s., pl.* eyen, eyne, eene, K. 8, *passim*, J. 58, *passim.*

Facture, *s.* fashioning, mould, K. 50, 66, K. 125, *a.r.*
Fader, *s.* father, J. 430, K. 122.
Faille, *s.* defect, K. 48.
Faille, *v.* fail, be deprived of, K. 26.
Fair-Calling, *s. prop.*, Salutation, Bewelcome, K. 97.
Faire, *adj. as s.* fair one, K. 66.
Fairhede, *s.* beauty, fairness, J. 133, K. 106, *a.r.*
Falouschip, *s.* fellowship, J. 576.
Falowe, *s.* fellow, companion, K. 23.
Fand, *v. pret. of* fynd, found, K. 79.
Fantasy, *s.* fancy, imagination, J. 575, K. 11, 37.
Fantise, *s.* deception, K. 142, *for* feyntise.
Fatall, *adj.* fated, destined, K. 196.
Fatoure, *s., for* faitour, pretender, impostor, *literally*, doer, K. 135.
Faucht, *v. pret.* fought, K. 85.
Fay, *s.* faith, K. 59.
Fayn, *adj.* fain, glad, K. 195, *passim.*
Faynt, *v. p.p.* feigned, K. 141.
Fede, *v.* feed, J. 215. Fed, *p.p.* K. 14.
Felde, *s.* field, J. 3.
Fele, *s.* feeling, perception, J. 250.
Fer, *adj.* far, J. 404.
Fere, *s.* companion, J. 19, K. 155.
Fere, *s.* fear, K. 162 : see Vere.
Ferforth, Ferfurth, *adv.* K. 25, J. 289.
Ferm, *adj.* firm, K. 138.
Fery, *adj.* active, vigorous, K. 156.
Fest, *adv.*, fast, K. 61.
Fete, *s. pl.* feet, K. 159.
Feynit, *v. p.p.* feigned, K. 36.
Flawe, *v. pret.* flew, K. 61.
Flete, *v.* float, J. 177.
Flikering, *v. pres. part.* fluttering, K. 173.
Flour, Floure, *s.* flower, *passim.*
Floure, *v.* flower, K. 133, 193.
Floure-Ionettis, *s. pl.* lilies, K. 47.
Flouris, *s.* flourish, flower, K. 187.
Flyte, *v.* scold, J. 312.
Fonde, *v.* try, seek, K. 127.
Fone, *s. pl.* foes, K. 71.
Forby, *adv.* past, *usual meaning in modern Scots* besides, K. 30, 31.
Forfet, *s.* forfeit, fault, crime, K. 92.
Forfaut, *v. p.p.* forfeited, K. 141.
Forge, *v.* fashion, shape, K. 47.
Forget, *v. p.p.* forgotten, K. 120.
Forehede, *s.* forehead, *probably error for* fairhede, K. 106.
Foreknawin, *v. p.p.* foreknown, K. 148.
Foreknawing, *s.* foreknowledge, K. 149.
For-lyin, *adj.* exhausted with lying long, K. 11.
For-pleynit, *adj.* weary of complaining, K. 73.
Foriuge, *v.* condemn, K. 3.
Forquhy, *c.* because, wherefore, K. 41, 108.
Forsake, *v.* forsake, K. 63, *v. p.p.* K. 58 ; *pret.* forsuke, K. 89.
Forthir, *adv.* further, K. 99, *passim.*
For-tirit, *adj.* very tired, K. 30.

Fortunyt, *v. pret. and p.p.* fortuned, happened, fortunate, K. 191, 133.
For-wakit, *adj.* wide-awake, K. 11.
For-walowit, *adj.* fatigued with rolling from side to side; much tossed about, K. 11.
For-wepit, *adj.* tear-stained, tired with much weeping; *Modern Scots* begrutten, K. 73.
Foting, *s.* footing, K. 9, 163.
Foyn3ee, *s.* beech-marten, K. 157.
Fremyt, *adj.* strange, K. 24.
Frese, *adj. for* ferse, fierce, J. 152.
Fret, *v. pret.* arrayed, adorned, K. 35.
Frete, *v. p.p.* devoured, eaten; see Y-fret, J. 555.
Fret-wise, by way of ornament, K. 46.
Fricht, *v. p.p.* frightened, K. 162.
Fude, *s.* food, K. 30.
Fundin, *v. p.p.* found, K. 169.
Furrit, *v. p.p.* furred, trimmed with fur, K. 161.
Furth, *adv.* forth, *passim.*
Furthward, *adv.* forward, K. 17.
Furth-with-all, *adv.* immediately, K. 13.
Fute, *s.* foot, J. 68.
Fyre, *s.* end, J. 345.
Fyre, Fyir, *s.* fire, J. 337.
Fyre, *adj.* hardened by fire, K. 48.

Gan, *v. pret.*, began, did, J. 113, K. 10.
Gardyn, Gardyng, *s.* garden, K. 31, 33.
Gayte, *s.* goat, K. 156.
Gelosy, *s.* jealousy, J. 381: see Jelousye.
Gerafloure, *s.* gillyflower, K. 190.
Gesse, *v.* guess, conjecture, J. 43, K. 180.
Gesserant, *s.* armour, K. 153.
Geve, Gif, Gife, If, Ife, Iff, Iffe, *conj.* if, J. 70, 137, *passim*; K. 60, 195, *passim.*
Gilt, *s.* guilt, J. 81.
Gilt, *v. p.p.*, sinned, offended, K. 26, 38.
Gin, Gyn, *v.* begin, K. 17, 57.
Glad, Glade, Gladin, *v.* gladden, K. 62, 174, 190, J. 129; *s.* joy, K. 21.
Glettering, *adj.*, glittering, J. 102.
Glewis, *s. pl.* tricks (reading suggested by Professor Skeat), K. 160.
Goste, *s.* spirit, J. 117, K. 173.
Gouernance, Gouirnance, *s.* conduct, rule, K. 88, 196.
Graip, *v.* grope, C. (b), 19.
Grame, *s.* sorrow, J. 290.
Gre, Gree, *s.* degree, K. 21, 83, J. 10.
Gree, *s.* favour, K. 59.
Gref, *s.* grief, K. 127.
Gress, *s.* grass, C. (b) 11.
Grete, *adj.* great, J. 198, *passim.*
Greuance, *s.* affliction, J. 202.
Grey, *s.* badger, K. 156.
Grippis, *s. pl.* grips, hold, K. 171.
Gruche, *v.* grudge, grumble, K. 91.
Grundid, *v. p.p.* grounded, J. 192.
Grundyn, *v. p.p.*, ground, sharpened, K. 94.
Gud, Gude, Guid, *adj.* good, *passim.*
Gude, *s.* good, blessing, K. 20.
Gudis, *s. pl.* goods, property, J. 368.
Gudeliare, Gudliare, *adj.* more goodly, J. 41, K. 49.
Gudelihede, *s.* beauty, K. 49.
Gudnese, *s.* goodness, K. 194,
Gyd, Gyde, *s.* guide, K. 63, 113, 195.
Gye, *v.* guide, K. 15, 106.

Hable, *adj.* able, K. 14.
Hable, *v.* enable, K. 39.
Habyte, *s.* garment, habit, J. 360.
Hailsing, *v. pres. p.* embracing, K. 166.
Haire, *s.* hare, K. 156.
Hald, *v. p.p.* haldin, hold, K. 60, 90, 147.
Hale, *v.* haul, pull, K. 169.
Hale, *adj.* whole, entire, K. 74.
Hale, Halely, *adv.* wholly, K. 58, K. 188.
Halflyng, *adv.* half, K. 49, 166, *a.r.*
Haly, *adj.* holy, J. 423.
Hant, *v.* haunt, frequent, J. 326; *s.* lair, K. 156.
Hap, *s.* good luck, K. 133; *cf.* Ruth, ii. 3.
Hardy, *adj.* bold, K. 89.
Hare, *s.* hair, K. 157.
Harkyne, *v.* hearken, listen, hear, C. (a), 11.
Hart, Hert, *s.* heart, J. 11, 26, *passim*, K. *passim.*
Has, *v. pl. pres. ind.* have, K. 107.
Hastow, *v. and pron.* hast thou, K. 57.
Haterent, *s.* hatred, J. 568.
Hede, *s.* head, K. 34.
Hedit, *v. p.p.* headed, tipped, K. 95.
Hege, *s.* hedge, K. 31.
Hele, *v.* heal, K. 194.
Hele, *s.* healing, health, salvation, K. 74.
Hens, *adv.* hence, J. 68.
Hennisferth, *adv.* henceforth, K. 181.
Hent, *v. p.p.* seized, K. 180.
Herbere, *s.* herbarium, garden-plot, K. 31, 32.

Herculese, Hercules, J. 172.
Here, *v.* hear, J. 46, *passim.*
Herknere, *adj.* listening, quick of hearing, K. 156.
Hert, *s* hart, K. 157.
Hertly, *adv.* heartily, J. 582, K. 187.
Hertly, *adj.* hearty, enthusiastic, K. 121.
Herubus, Erebos, J. 333.
Hes, *v.* has, C. (b) 16.
Hete, *s.* heat, J. 557.
Heve, *v.* heave, K. 1.
Hevin, Hevynnis, *s.* heaven, J. 58, K. 1, 196.
Hevynes, *s.* heaviness, J. 32.
Hewe, *s.* hue, J. 4, 106, K. *passim.*
Heye, Heigh, Hich, Hie. Hye, *adj.* high, K., 66, *passim*, J. 44, 187; Hyare, higher, K. 131.
Hicht, *s.* height, J. 216, K. 172.
Hider, *adv.* hither, K. 166.
Hing, Hyng, *v.* hang, K 88, 89.
Hip, *v.* hop, K. 35.
Ho, *s.* pause, stop, J. 566, K. 157.
Hole, *adj.* whole, J. 70, K. 18, 126.
Holsum, *adj.* wholesome, beneficial, K. 156.
Hond, *s.* hand, J. 173.
Hony, *adj.* honey, sweet, K. 117.
Hort, *s.* hurt, injury, wound, K. 156.
Hote, *adv.* hot, J. 2.
Hudis, *s. pl.* hoods, K. 81, 88.
Hufing, *v. pres. p.*, waiting, watching, K. 159.
Huke, *s.* mantle, cloak with hood, K. 49.
Humily, *adv.* humbly, K. 106.
Humylnesse, *s.* humility, K. 126.
Hundreth, *adj.* hundred, J. 380, K. 180.
Hye, *v.* hasten, K. 15, 164.
Hye, *s.* haste, K. 30, *passim.*

I-blent, *v. pret.* blenched, K. 74.
Ide, *s.* Ides, J. 7.
I-fallyng, *v.*: see note on stanza 45, K. 45.
Ignorant, *s.* ignorant person, fool, J. 324.
I-laid, *v. p.p.* laid, K. 120.
Ilk, *pron.* every, J. 86, *a.r.*
Ilkë, *pron.* same, *with the* or *this* or *that*, K. 154.
I-lokin, *v. p.p.* closed in, K. 69.
Imeneus, Hymen, J. 59.
Incidence, *s.*, accidental detail, subsidiary matter, K. 7.
Indegest, *adj.* crude, K. 14.
Infortunate, *adj.*, unfortunate, K. 24.
Infortune, *s.*, misfortune, K. 5.
Inmytee, *s.* enmity, K. 87.
Inpnis, *s. pl.* hymns, K. 197; probably mistake for 'ympis'
Inuyit, *v. p.p.* envied, J. 180, *a.r.*
Inymy, *s.* enemy, K. 24.
I-thankit, *v. p.p.* thanked, K. 190.
I-wonne, *v. p.p.* won, K. 108.
I-wys, *adv.* certainly, J. 281.

Jangill, *v.* jangle, chatter, K. 38.
Januarye, January, K. 110.
Jelousye, *s.* jealousy, J. *passim*, K. 87.
Jenepere, *s.* juniper, K. 32.
Jete, *s.* jet, K. 157.
Johne, John, K. 23.
Jorofflis, *s. pl.* gillyflowers, K. 178: see gerafloure.
Joye, *s.* joy, K. 19, *passim.*
Juge, *s.* judge, K. 182.
Jugement, *s.* judgment, trial, J. 428.
Junyt, *v. p.p.* joined, united, K. 133.
Jupiter, Jupiter, J. 82, K. 25.

Kalendis, *s. pl.* kalends, beginning, K. 34, 177.
Kepe, *s.* heed, care, J. 414.
Kepe, *v.* heed, pay heed to, regard, K. 141.
Kerue, *v.* carve, cut, J. 399.
Kest, *v. pret.* cast, K. 35, 40.
Keye, *s.* key, K. 100.
Kid, *v. p.p.* shewn, *p.p. of* kythe, K. 137.
Knaw, *v.* know, K. 101.
Knet, *v. p.p.* knit, enclosed, inter twined, K. 31.
Knytt, *v.* strengthen, brace, K. 194
Kythe, *v.* shew, make known, K. 56.

Lak, *s.* want, K. 15.
Lak, *v.* to be in want of, K. 84.
Lang, *adj.* long, K. *passim.*
Lang, *v.* belong, K. 106, *passim.*
Lap, *v. pret. of* lepe, leapt, K. 153.
Large, *s.* freedom, K. 115.
Large, *adj.* widespread, J. 247.
Larges, *s.* freedom, liberty, K. 181.
Lat, *v.* let, J. 381.
Lauch, *v.* laugh, K. 179.
Laud, *s.* praise, K. 188.
Laurence, Saint Lawrence, J. 433.
Lawe, *adj.* low, K. 90, 103, below.
Lawe, *s.* law, K. 102. 105.
Le, *v.* lie, speak falsely, J. 471.
Lede, *s.* lead, K. 153.

Lef, *s.* leaf, K. 72.
Leme, *v.* shine, K. 46.
Lene, *v. pret.* lent, lenit, lean, K. 42, 191.
Lenth, *s.* length, K. 21.
Lere, *v.* learn, *properly* teach, K. 171.
Lest, *s.* desire, K. 57.
Lest, *v. impers.* please, K. 9, 44, 147, J. 536.
Leste, *adj.* least, K. 149.
Lesty, *adj.* pleasant, skilful, K. 157.
Leue, *v.* leave, K. 124.
Leve, *v.* live, J. 268.
Levis, *s. pl.* leaves, J. 22.
Licht, *s.* light, J. 213.
List, *v.* please, J. 326.
List, *v.* border, edge, list, K. 178.
Lith, *v.* 3 *sing. pres.* lieth, lies, J. 356.
Litill, a Lytill, *s. adj.* little, J. 79, *passim*.
Lokin, *v. p.p.* locked, caught, enclosed, K. 135.
Lore, *s.* learning, K. 186.
Louring, *adj.* scowling, frowning, louring, K. 161.
Louse, *v. adj.* loose, K. 39, 43, 49, 115.
Lowe, *s.* flame, K. 48.
Lowe, *s.* law, J. 63.
Lufar, Lufare, *s.* lover, K. 179, J. 442.
Lufare, *s. as adj.* amorous, K. 155.
Lufe, *s.* lover, J. 130.
Luke, *s. v.* look, K. 30, K. 170.
Lust, *s.* desire, pleasure, K. 65, J. 328.
Lusty, *adj.* pleasant, J. 1, 11, 101, 104, *passim*.
Lustyhede, *s.* pleasure, J. 42, 252.
Lyf, *s.* living creature, K. 12.
Lyf, *s.* life, K. 25 *passim*.
Lyght, *v.* alight, K. 177.
Lyte, *adj.* little, K. 155, *passim ;* as *s.* K. 2.
Lyvand, *v. pres. part.* living, K. 197.
Lyvis, *s. gen.* life's, a living being's, K. 28.

Mach, *s.* match, K. 109.
Maidenhede, *s.* maidenhood, virginity, K. 55.
Maij, *s.* May, J. 1, 13.
Maist, *adj.* most, K. 182.
Maister, *s.* master, K. 197.
Maistow, *v. and pron.* mayest thou, K. 170.
Maistrit, *v. pret.* mastered, K. 181.
Maistrye, *s.* mastery, K. 37 ; masterpiece, K. 66.
Make, *s.* mate, consort, J. 526, K. 35, 58, 64, 79.
Maked, *v. pret.* made, K. 110.
Malancholy, *s.*, melancholy, J. 327, K. 58.
Manace, *v. s.* menace, K. 41, 96.
Marciall, *adj.* martial, warlike, K. 191.
Martrik, *s.* marten, K. 157.
Martris, *s. pl.* martyrs, K. 79.
Marye, *s. gen.* Mary's, K. 17.
Maugre, *adv.* against (our will), in spite of (ourselves), K. 24.
Mekle, *adj.* much, J. 154, 184.
Mekly, *adv.* meekly, J. 201.
Mell, *v.* to mix, mingle, meddle, K. 145, 152.
Mene, s. mean, medium, K. 183.
Mene, *v.* mean, J. 193.
Mene, *s.* moan, J. 30, 516.
Ment, *v. pret. of* Mene, moaned, bewailed, J. 146.
Menys, *s. plur.* means, K. 107.
Menyt, *v.* (possibly mistake for Inuyit), bemoaned, J. 180.
Merciable, *adj.* merciful, K. 99.
Mesure, *s.* moderation, temperance, K. 50.
Mesure, *v.* measure, consider, K. 132.
Met, *v. pret. of* Mete, dreamt, K. 73.
Mete, *adj.* meet, fitting, K. 97.
Mich, *adj.* much, K. 51, 129, 150.
Minister, *v.* minister, shew, manifest, K. 43.
Minueruis, *s. gen.* Minerva's, K. 124.
Mischewe, *s.* mischief, misfortune, J. 605.
Mo, *adj.* more, K. 42, 61, 97, 111.
Moch, *adj.* much, K. 87.
Mon, *v.* must, J. 266, 286.
Mone, Moon, *s.* moan, K. 72, K. 45.
Mone, *s.* moon, K. 110.
Moneth, *s.* month, K. 65, J. 7.
Mony, *adj.*, many, J. 198, *passim*.
Monyfald, *adj.* manifold, K. 131.
Most, *v.* must, J. 226, 460.
Mot, *v.* may, must, K. 190, 191, J. 607.
Mote, *v.* may, J. 67.
Murn, *v.* mourn, K. 113, 118.
Murthir, *s.* murder, K. 157.
Mydday, *s.* meridian, Equator (?), K. 21.
Myddis, *prep.* amid, K. 32.
Myd-nyght, *s.* Meridian, K. 1.
Myd-way, *s.* Equator, K. 21, *a.r.*
Mycht, *v. pret.* might, could, J. 53.
Mylioun, *s.* million, K. 78.
Mynt, *v.* purpose, aim, M.E. munten, A.S. gemyntan, K. 105.

Na, *adv.* not, K. 67.
Namly, *adv.* namely, particularly, K. 9.
Nap, *v.* doze, sleep, K. 60.
Nas, *v.* ne was, was not, K. 75.
Nat, *adv.* not, K. *passim*, J. 278.
Ne, *adv.*, *conj.* nor, no, J. 84, 579.
Nede, *s.* need, J. 585.
Nede, *adv.* needs, J. 570.
Ner, Nere, *adj.* near, J. 402, 405.
Nero, *s.* Nero, J. 173.
Newis, *s. pl.* news, K. 179.
No, *adv.* not, J. 53.
Nobill-ray, *s.* nobility, C. (b), 2.
Noblay, *s.* nobleness, nobility, C. (a) 2.
Nocht, *adv.*, not, J. 8.
Nold, *v.* ne wold, would not, K. 140.
Non, *pron.* none, J. 28, *passim*.
Note, *v.* ne wote, knows not, J. 551.
Nouthir, *conj.* neither, K. 139.
Nowmer, *s.* number, K. 22.
Noye, *v.* annoy, J. 15.
Nurise, *v.* nourish, J. 2.
Ny, *adv.* near, J. 48.
Nyce, *adj.* foolish, simple, J. 533, K. 129.
Nycely, *adv.* foolishly, K. 12.
Nye, *adv.* nigh, K. 77.
Nyl, *v.* ne wyl, will not, K. 142.
Nys, *v.* ne is, is not, J. 85.

O, *adj.* one, K. 162, 182, J. 494.
Obseruance, *s.* observance, J. 13, K. 119.
Ocht, *s.* anything, ought, J. 502.
Off, *prep.* of, J. 39 *passim*.
Oftsyse, *adv.* oftentimes, J. 136, 181, 236.
Oliphant, *s.* elephant, K. 156.
Omere, *s.* Homer, K. 85.
One, *adj.*, alone, K. 80.
One, *adj.* an, one, J. 111.
One, *prep.* on, J. 113.
Ones, *adv.* once, K. 57.
Ony, *adj.* any, J. 125, 126, *passim*.
Onys, *adv.* once, K. 182, J. 422.
Or, *conj.* ere, K. 190, C. (a), 12.
Orfeuerye, *s.* goldsmith's work, K. 48.
Orisoun, *s.* prayer, K. 53.
Oureclad, *v.* clothed, J. 3.
Ouerthrawe, *v. p.p.* overthrown, K. 163.
Ouerthwert, *adv.* across, K. 82.
Ouide, *s.* Ovid, K. 85.
Oure, *prep.* over, K. 143, *passim*.
Ourehayle, *v.* overhaul, ponder, K. 10, 158.
Ourestraught, straight over, K. 164.
Ourset, *v.* overcome, K. 73.
Owin, *adj.*, own, J. 533.

Pace, *v.* pass, K. 69.
Pace, *s.* step, additional stage, or story, K. 131.
Pall, *v.* appal, K. 18.
Pane, *s.* pain, K. 188.
Papë-jay, *s.* popinjay, parrot, K. 110.
Part, *v.* depart, K. 67.
Part, *v.* divide, separate, *p.p.* partit, awaked, K. 2, partly, K. 46.
Partye, *s.* part, K. 16.
Partye, *s.* partner, match, K. 48.
Pass, *s.* pace, step, J. 47.
Passing, *adj.* surpassing, J. 317.
Payne, Peyne, *s.* pain, J. 25, 140, K. *passim*.
Pepe, *s.* 'peep,' a bird's cry, K. 57.
Percyng, *v. pres. part.* piercing, K. 103.
Perfyte, *adj.* perfect, K. 125, J. 311.
Pertene, *v.* pertain, K. 107.
Pes, *s.* peace, K. 60, J. 287.
Phebus, *s.* the sun, K. 72.
Philomene, *s.* nightingale, K. 62, phylomene, K. 110.
Pitee, *s.* pity, J. 195.
Pitouse, *adj.* pitiful, K. 99, J. 95.
Plane, *adj.* plain, K. 36.
Playnly, *adv.* fully, lavishly, K. 65.
Plesance, *s.* pleasure, J. 79.
Plesandly, *adv.* pleasantly, K. 178.
Pleyne, *v.* complain, K. 90, 91, J. 132.
Pleyne, *v.* for pleyen, play, K. 40.
Pleyne, *adj.* manifest, evident, K. 116.
Pleyning, *s. v.* complaining, J. 96.
Plumyt, *adj.* plumed, feathered, K. 94.
Pluto, *s.* Pluto, J. 71.
Plyte, *s.* plight, K. 53.
Poetly, *adj.* probably mistake for poleyt, K. 4.
Poleyt, *adj.* polished, *a.r.* K. 4.
Polymye, *s.* Polyhymnia, K. 19.
Porpapyne, *s.* porcupine, K. 155.
Port, *s.* harbour, gate, K. 17, 77.
Portare, *s.* porter, K. 125.
Pouert, Pouertee, *s.* poverty, K. 3, 5, 194.
Poure, *v.* pore, study, K. 72.
Prattily, *adv.* prettily, K. 153.
Pray, *s.* prey, K. 135.
Prentissehed, *s.* apprenticeship, K. 185.
Prese, *v.* to set a price, to be valued, *a.r.*, K. 110.
Presence, *s.* presence (of a person of distinction), K. 126, 195.

Present, *v. p.p.* presented, K. 179.
Preualy, preuely, *adv.* privately, secretly, J. 45, 55.
Prime, *s.* early part of day: see notes, K. 171.
Prise, *s.* praise, prize, honour, estimation, K 128, 188.
Priuely, *adv.* privately, secretly, K. 89.
Processe, *s.* proceeding, procedure, undertaking, K. 19.
Proigne, *s.* Procne, K. 55.
Proserpina, *s.* Proserpine, J. 74.
Proyne, *v.* preen, clean, trim, K. 64.
Prye, *v.* pry, examine eagerly, K. 72.
Purchace, *v.* obtain, acquire, K. 59, 184.
Pure, *adj. used as s.* poor persons, J. 368; *adj.* K. 99, 101.
Puruait, *v. p.p.* provided, K. 23.
Purueyance, Puruiance, *s.* providence, K. 130, 176.
Pyk, *v.* select, choose, K. 7.
Pyne, *s.* punishment, K. 28, 155, 173.

Quair, Quare, *s.* book, title of poem in MS., J. title.
Quake, *v.* shake, tremble, K. 47.
Quhat, *pron.* what, J. 32, *passim.*
Quhair, Quhare, *adv.* where, K. 190, *passim.*
Quharefore, *adv. conj.* wherefore, J. 29, *passim.*
Quhele, *s.* wheel, K. 9, *passim.*
Quhens, *adv.* whence, J. 114.
Quhethir, *conj.* whether, J. 177.
Quhider, *adv.* whither, J. 419.
Quhilk, *pron.* which, J. 361.
Quhilkis, *pron. pl.* which, K. 62.
Quhill, *conj.* while, C. (b) 12, until, K. 108.
Quhilom, *adv.* formerly, once upon a time, K. 3, J. 74.
Quhilum, *adv.* sometimes, K. 107.
Quhilum, *adv.* at times, for a time, K. 160, 161.
Quhirl, *v.* whirl, K. 165.
Quhistle, *v.* whistle, K. 135.
Quhite, *a.* white, K. 136, J. 40.
Quho, *pron.* who, K. 77.
Quhois, *pron. gen.* whose, J. 22.
Quhy, *s.* reason, J. 62, 122, 228, K. 87, 93.
Quikin, *s.* quicken, K. 181.
Quit, *v. p.p.* requited, rewarded, K. 128.
Quite, *adv.* altogether, K. 90.
Quit, Quite, *v. p.p.* acquitted, free, quit, K. 6, 195.
Quod, *v. pret.* quoth, said, K. 151, *passim.*
Quoke, *v. pret.* quaked, K. 162.
Quyte, *v.* acquit, J. 249.
Quyte, *v.* reward, C. (a) 7.
Quyte, *adj.* quit, free from, deprived of, J. 362.

Raddoure, *s.* terror, fear, J. 449.
Rase, *v. pret.* rose, K. 11.
Ravin, *adj.* ravenous, K. 157.
Rawe, *s.* row, K. 90.
Recist, *v.* resist, J. 230.
Reconforting, *s.* comfort, additional comfort, K. 196.
Recouer, *s.* recovery, K. 5.
Recouerance, *s.* recovery, K. 87.
Recure, *s.* see Recouer, K. 10, 95.
Red, *v.* read, K. 196.
Rede, *v.* read, J. 422, *passim.*
Rede, *adj.* red, K. 46.
Reder, *s.* reader, K. 194.
Redy, *adj.* ready, K. 94.
Refreyne, *v.* refrain, control, J 402.
Reherse, *s.* rehearsal, account, K. 127.
Rekyn, *v.* reckon, K. 187.
Rele, *v.* whirl, *same as* wrele, K. 9, 165.
Relesch, *v.* relax, relieve, K. 184.
Relesche, *s.* relief, relaxation, K. 25, 150.
Remanant, *s.* remnant, K. 137, 171.
Remede, *s.* remedy, K. 69, 138.
Remyt, *s.* pardon, release, K. 195.
Renewe, *s.* renewal, K. 125.
Repaire, *s.* place of resort, gathering, multitude, K. 77.
Reprefe, *s.* reproof, J. *after* 316.
Repreue, *v.* reprove, J. 265.
Requere, *v.* require, make request, K. 195.
Resemble, *v.* compare, J. 43.
Ressaue, *v.* receive, K. 52, 123, 145.
Rethorikly, *adv.* rhetorically, elegantly, K. 7.
Retrograde, *adj.* backward, unpropitious, K. 170.
Reule, Reulen, *v.* rule, K. 15, J. 350, 454.
Reuth, *s.* ruth, pity, K. 137, J. 180.
Rew, *v.* pity, K. 63.
Riall, *adj.* royal, K. 125.
Richess, *s.* riches, J. 126.
Rody, *adj.* ruddy, K. 1.
Rois, *s.* rose, J. 39, *passim.*

Rong, *v. p.p.* rung, J. 396, K. 33.
Ronne, *v. p.p.* run: see Y-ronne.
Rought, *v. pret. of* rek, cared, K. 27.
Rowm, *adj.* spacious, K. 77.
Rude, *s.* rood, cross, K. 139.
Rut, *s.* root, C. (a) 2.
Rycht, *adv.* very, J. 36, 582, *passim*, K. *passim*.
Ryght, *adj.* straight, right, K. 124.
Ryn, *v.* run, J. 517.
Rynsid, *v. pret.* rinsed, cleansed, made pure, K. 1.
Ryuere, *s.* river, J. 20, K. 150.

Sable, *adj. or s.* sable, K. 157.
Sad, *adj.* serious, grave, earnest, K. 96, J. 264.
Sakelese, *adj.* sackless, innocent, J. 83.
Salamoun, *s.* Solomon, J. 404.
Sall, *v.* shall, J. 248, K. *passim*.
Salute, *v. pret.* saluted, K. 98.
Salvatoure, *s.* Saviour, J. 434.
Samplis, *s. pl.* examples, J. 380.
Samyn, *adj.* same, J. 7, 366.
Sanct, *s.* saint, K. 23, 62, 191.
Saturne, *s.* Saturn, K. 122
Sauf, *adj.* safe, K. 143.
Saugh, *v. pret.* saw, J. 35.
Saulis, *s. pl.* souls, K. 123.
Scant, *adj.* free, void, J. 198.
Scele, *s.* skill, K. 7, *a.r.*
Schap, *s.* shape, K. 47.
Schape, *v.* shape, fashion, provide, K. 69; Schapith, *imper.* K. 102.
Sche, *pron.* she, J. 39, *passim*, K. *passim*.
Schene, *adj.* bright, sheen, K. 95.
Schent, *v. p.p.* disgraced, destroyed, J. 390.
Schet, *v. pret.* shut, K. 8.
Schewe, *v.* shew, J. 166.
Schire, *adj.* bright, clear, K. 76.
Schold, see Schuld, J. 217.
Schouris, *s. pl.* showers, J. 2.
Schowe, *v.* push, J. 456.
Schrew, *v.* curse, J. 581.
Schuld, *v.* should, J. 100, *passim*, K. *passim*.
Schuldris, *s. pl.* shoulders, K. 96.
Schupe, *v. pret.* shaped, fashioned, K. 24.
Sclander, *s.* slander, J. 397.
Scole, *s.* school, K. 7.
Se, *v.* see, K. 111.
Secretee, *s.* secrecy, K. 97.
See, *s.* sea, K. 22.
Seildin, *adv.* seldom, K. 9.
Sek-cloth, *s.* sack-cloth, K. 109.
Seke, *v.* seek, K. 29.
Seke, *adj.* sick, K. 58.
Sekernesse, *s.* certainty, security, K. 5.
Sekirly, *adv.* certainly, J. 65.
Sekirnesse, *s.* security, certainty, K. 71.
Seknesse, *s.* sickness, K. 111.
Seluen, *pron.* self, J. 172.
Sely, *adj.* simple, weak, K. 44, J. 235.
Sen, *conj.* since, J. 87, K. 44.
Sene, *v.* see, K. 67, *passim*, J. 97, 100.
Sentence, *s.* sentiment, opinion, J. 321, K. 149.
Septre, *s* sceptre, K. 107.
Sere, *adj.* several, many, J. 322.
Seruand, *s.* servant, K. 86, 113, 114.
Sett, Set, *conj.* though, J. 186, 504, *passim*.
Setten, *v.* set, K. 37.
Sevynt, *adj.* seventh, J. 7.
Sew, *v.* follow, J. 529, C. (a) 4.
Seyne, *v. for* seyen, say, K. 27.
Sichit, Sikit, *v. pret.* sighed, J. 52, 95.
Sicht, *s.* sight, J. 115.
Signifere, *s.* the zodiac, K. 76.
Sike, *v.* sigh, K. 44.
Simplese, *s.* simplicity, K. 194.
Sith, *conj.* since, J. 563.
Sitt, *v.* 3 *sing. pres. ind.*, sits, K. 196.
Slake, *v.* relax, K. 161.
Slawe, *adj.* slow, K. 155.
Sleuch, *v. pret.* slew, J. 384, 391.
Sleuth, *s.* sloth, K. 119, 120, J. 12.
Slokin, *v.* quench, slake, K. 69, 168.
Sloppare, *adj.* slippery, K. 163.
Slungin, *v. p.p.* slung, K. 165.
Smaragdyne, *s.* emerald, K. 155.
Smert, *v.* ache, smart, K. 8.
Smert, *adj.* painful, J. 6.
Smert, *s.* pain, J. 100.
Snawe, *s.* snow, K. 67.
Sobir, *adj.* quiet, tranquil, earnest, J. 18, 196.
Sobirly, *adv.* gravely, J. 47, 53.
Socoure, *s.* succour, K. 100.
Socht, *v. pret.* sought, K. 165, *a.r.*
Sodayn, *adj.* sudden, K. 40.
Soiurne, *s.* sojourn, abode, residence, K. 113.
Solempnit, *adj.* solemn, K. 79.
Solitare, *adj.* solitary, J. 19.
Somer, *s.* summer, K. 34.
Sone, *adv.* soon, J. 217, *passim*.
Sonne, *s.* sun, J. 8, 24, K. 110.
Souiraine, *s.* sovereign, K. 181.
Soun, *s.* sound, K. 13, *passim*.

Sound, *v.* tend, accord, J. 524.
Soyte, *s.* suit, dress, K. 64.
Spak, *v. pret.* spake, J. 53.
Spane, *s.* span, C. (a) 7.
Spang, *s.* spangle, buckle, K. 47.
Spede, *v.* profit, benefit, K. 28.
Spere, *s.* sphere, K. 76.
Sperk, *s.* spark, spot, small splinter, K. 48.
Sprad, *v. pret.* spread, K. 21.
Spurn, *v.* kick, stumble, K. 186.
Stage, *s.* station, K. 9.
Stale, *s.* stall, place, prison, K. 169.
Standar, *adj.* fond of standing, K. 156.
Stant, *v.* stands, J. 301, *passim*.
Starf, *v. pret. of* steruen, died, K. 139.
Staunt, see Stant, J. 483.
Stede, *s.* place, stead, K. 165.
Steik, *v.* close, stitch, C. (b), 7.
Stellifyit, *v. p.p.* made a star, K. 52.
Stent, *v. pret., variant of* stynt, stop, cease, K. 5.
Stere, *s.* pilot, ruler, K. 195.
Stere, *s.* guidance, K. 130.
Stereles, *adj.* without helm, without helmsman (?), K. 15, 16.
Sterre, *s.* star, K. 1, 99.
Sterue, *v.* die, J. 92.
Stond, *v.* stand, K. 88.
Stone, *s.* cell, cloister, J. 267; stone, K. 72, 73.
Stound, *s.* short period of time, space, K. 53, 118.
Stramp, *v.* tramp, tread firmly, C. (a), 12.
Strang, *adj.* strong, K. 149.
Straucht, Straught, *adv.* straight, K. 151, 158.
Streche, *v.* stretch, K. 169.
Streme, *s.* stream, K. 103.
Strong, *adj.* hard, rigorous, J. 123, K. 68, *adv.*
Stude, *v. pret.* stood, K. 97.
Sudaynly, sodaynly, sodeynly, *adv.* suddenly, J. 63, K. *passim*.
Sueuenyng, *s.* dreaming, suggested reading, K. 174.
Suerd, *s.* sword, J. 486.
Suete-having, *s.* pleasant demeanour, graciousness, J. 133.
Sufficiance, *s.* enough, K. 183.
Suffisance, *s.* sufficiency, competence, J. 128, *passim*.
Suffrance, *s.* suffering, J. 25, 198.
Suich, Suche, *adj.* such, J. 66, 394, 407, *passim*.
Suld, *v.* should, J. 124, *passim*, K. 27, *passim*.
Suoun, *adj.* in a swoon, K. 73.
Supplee, *s.* help, assistance, J. 316.
Surcote, *s.* upper coat, K. 160.
Suspect, *v. p.p.* suspected, K. 137.
Sustene, *v.* sustain, J. 29, 234.
Suth, *adj.* sooth, true, J. 331, *passim*.
Syne, *adv.* afterwards, J. 384, K. 192.
Syne, *adv.* then, J. 501, 517.
Synthius (Cynthius), *s.* the sun, K. 20.
Syte, *s.* grief, suffering, J. 548.
Syttyn, *v.* sit, J. 155.

Ta, *v.* take, J. 73.
Tabart, *s.* coat, tunic, tabard, K. 110.
Tak, *v. p.p.* taken, K. 193.
Take, *v. p.p.* taken, K. 90, J. 118.
Takenyng, *s.* token, K. 176.
Takin, *s.* token, K. 118.
Takyn, *s.* token, sign, K. 41.
Tald, *v. pret.* told, K. 23.
Teris, *s. pl.* tears, J. 102.
Termes, *s. pl.* language, expression, diction, J. 185, 588.
Thai, *pron.* they, J. 265, *passim*.
Thai, *pron.* those, J. 113.
Thaim, Tham, Thame, *pron.* them, K. and J. *passim*.
Than, *adv.* then, K. 4, 63, J 88.
Thank, *v.* thank, suggested reading, K. 196.
Thank, *s.* thought, gratitude, act of thanksgiving, K. 124, 182, 184.
Thare, *adv.* there, J. 28, *passim*.
That, *adv.* so, J. 307, K. 42.
Thedir, *adv.* thither, J. 421.
Ther-ageyne, against this, K. 91.
Thesiphone, *s.* Tisiphone, K. 19, J. 313.
Thidder-wart, *adv.* thitherward, K. 185.
Thilk, the ilk, the same, J. 86, K. 5, 119.
Thir, *pron.* these, J. 235, 237, K. 6, *passim*.
Tho, *adv.* then, J. 14.
Tho, *pron.* those, K. 39, 172, *a.r.*
Thouch, *conj.* though, J. 171.
Thrall, *adj.* bond, C. (a) 8.
Thrawe, *s.* space, turn, K. 35.
Thre, *adj.* three, K. 22.
Thrid, *adj.* third, K. 95.
Throuch, *prep.* through, J. 67, *passim*.
Tiklyng, *s.* tickling, K. 21.
Till, *prep.* to, J. 526.
Tippit, *v. p.p.* tipped, K. 157.
Tissew, *s.* fine undergarment, K. 49.
To, *adv.* too, J. 438.

To-fore, *adv.* before, J. 31, 517, K. 1, *passim.*
To-forowe, *adv.* before, K. 23.
To-gider, *adv.* together, K. 64.
Toke, Tuke, *v. pret.* took, K. *passim.*
Tokening, *s.* token, sign, K. 119; see takyn.
Tolter, *adj.* insecure, tottery, shaky, K. 9.
Tolter, *adv.* in skaky fashion, K. 164.
Tone, *v. p.p.* taken, J. 418, 575.
Tone, *in* the tone, that one, the one, J. 458.
Tong, *s.* tongue, language, J. 394, 409, K. 7.
Tonne, *s.* cask, barrel, J. 537.
Touert, *prep.* toward, with regard to alternative reading, K. 1, 174.
Toure, *s.* tower, K. 31.
Toward, *prep.* with reference to, K. 46.
To-wrye, *v.* twist, turn, K. 164.
Traist, *v.* trust, K. 130.
Translate, *v.* transform, K. 8.
Trauaille, *s.* labour, K. 14.
Trauerse, *s.* screen; see trevesse, K. 90.
Trechorye, *s.* treachery, K. 134.
Trevesse, *s.* screen, K. 82.
Tueyne, *adj.* twain, K. 42.
Tuo, Two, *adj.* two, J. 113.
Turment, *v. p.p.* tormented, J. 62, 591.
Turment, *s.* torment, K. 19, *passim.*
Turture, *s.* turtle dove, K. 177.
Twiës, *adv.* twice, suggested reading, K. 25.
Twine, *v.* to twist, K. 25.
Twist, *s.* twig, K. 33.
Tyde, *s.* time, K. 160.
Tyrane, *s.* tyrant, J. 278.

Vaille, *v.* avail, J. 502.
Vale, *v. same as* avale, descend, K. 172.
Varyit: see Waryit.
Variant, *adj.* unstable, changeable, K. 137.
Venemyt, *v. p.p.* poisoned, envenomed, J. 535.
Venus, *s.* Venus, K. 69, *passim.*
Veray, Verray, *adj.* and *adv.* very, true, J. 333, K. 5.
Vere, *s.* spring, K. 20.
Vere, *s.* fear, J. 229.
Verreis, *v.* wearies, J. 303.
Vertew, *s.* power, force: see Vertu, K. 74.
Vertew, *s.* virtue, K. *passim.*
Vertewis, *adj.* virtuous, C. 2.
Vertu, *s.* power, strength, K. 20.
Viage, *s.* journey, voyage, K. 15.
Virking, *s.* working, activity, K. 188.
Vmbre, *s.* umbra, shadow, K. 134.
Vnconnyng, *s.* lack of skill, J. 587.
Vncouth, *adj.* unknown, strange, K. 63.
Vncouthly, *adv.* strangely, K. 9
Vndemyt, *adj.* unjudged, J. 268.
Vndertake, *v. p.p.* undertaken, K. 63.
Vnkyndënes, *v.* unkindness, K. 87.
Vnknawin, *adj.* unknown, K. 105.
Vnknawin, *v. p.p.* unknown, K. 45.
Vnknewe, Vnknowe, *adj.* unknown, J. 64, 455, 529.
Vnnethis, *adv.* scarcely, with difficulty, K. 98.
Vnquestionate, *adj.* unquestioned, K. 125.
Vnrypit, *adj.* immature, unripened, K. 14.
Vnsekernesse, *s.* insecurity, uncertainty, K. 15.
Vnsekir, *adj.* uncertain, variable, K. 6.
Voce, *s.* voice, K. 74: see Woce.
Void, *v.* dispel, expel, empty, K. 155.
Void, *adj.* vacant, K. 164.
Vre, *s.* luck, chance, K. 10.
Vschere, *s.* usher, door-keeper, K. 97.
Vse, *v.* use, in sense of being the habit of, J. 443.
Vtheris, *adj. pl.* others, J. 358, *passim.*
Vtrid, *v. p.p.* uttered, expressed, K 132.

Waill, *v.* wail, J. 210.
Wald, *v.* would, K. *passim*, J. *passim*: see Wold.
Walk, *v.* wake, K. 173.
Walkyn, *v.* awake, J. 12, K. 173.
Wallowit, *v. p.p.* withered, C. 2.
Wan, *v. pret.* gained, K. 5.
War, *v. pret.* was, K. 182.
War, *v.* were, J. 171.
Ware, *adj.* wary, aware, K. 164.
Waryit, Varyit, *v. p.p.* cursed, accursed, J. 80, 239.
Warld, *s.* world, J. 24, K. *passim.*
Wate, Wote, *v.* know, K. 60, J. 83.
Wawis, Wavis *s. pl.* waves, K. 16, J. 550.
Wayke, *adj.* weak, K. 14.
Weill, *s.* wealth, prosperity, C. (a), 3.
Wele, *adv.* well, very, K. *passim*, J. 33, 36.
Wele-willing, *s.* benevolence, J. 125.
Wepe, *v.* weep, J. 57.
Werdes, *s. pl.* fates, destinies, K. 9, 169.

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